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ABSTRACT

In June 1992, a Senate hearing received testimony on the need for federal aid for maintenance of Native American languages. Such aid would fund community language facilities and programs, training of Native speakers as teachers, development of instructional materials, and compilation of oral materials. A speaker from the Administration for Native Americans (DHHS), while supporting the preservation of Native languages, argued that existing federal grant programs are sufficient to meet these purposes. Representatives of American Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages, and organizations discussed the connection between language maintenance and cultural preservation, the importance of both language and culture to ethnic identity and self-esteem, and the status of Native language instruction and bilingual education in their areas. Linguists described the status and viability of Native languages in the United States, and discussed the importance of the existence of a broad range of living languages to the study of linguistics. Six papers from the journal "Language" discuss language loss and endangered languages worldwide; the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program in Peach Springs, Arizona; the Rama Language Project in Nicaragua; the collaboration of native speakers and professional linguists in Guatemala in developing Mayan linguistics; and the human value of linguistic diversity. Also included are many supporting statements and letters from organizations and individuals. (SV)

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S. HRG. 102-809

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES ACT OF 1991

ED354136

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 2044

TO ASSIST NATIVE AMERICANS IN ASSURING THE SURVIVAL AND CONTINUING VITALITY OF THEIR LANGUAGES

JUNE 18, 1992
WASHINGTON, DC

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NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES ACT OF 1991

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1992

U.S. SENATE,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in room 485, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Daniel K. Inouye (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Inouye, Akaka, Simon, Murkowski, and McCain.

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE, U.S. SENATOR FROM HAWAII, CHAIRMAN, SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. This morning we convene to receive testimony on S. 2044, a bill to amend the Native American Programs Act to authorize the award of grants by the Administration for Native Americans to tribal governments and other native American organizations to help them assure the survival and continuing vitality of their native languages.

The policies of the United States that led to the destruction of Indian languages over the past century are well-known to the members of this committee. Together, we moved forward in 1989 to approve a bill that repudiated the policies of the past. This measure, which was signed into law as the Native American Languages Act of 1990, declared that "it is the policy of the United States to preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages."

Although the Native American Languages Act was largely a declaration of policy, the act did mandate that the President direct Federal agencies, first, to give support to the newly declared native languages policy; second, to evaluate their policies and procedures and the laws governing them to determine what changes might be required; and finally, to deliver their recommendations for changes to existing law within 1 year of the date of enactment of the act.

I regret that I must report that there has been but little implementation of this mandate. The Congress did not receive the prescribed report in October 1991. After much urging, the report we finally received was not a governmentwide report nor even a report from the Department of the Interior. Instead, it was a short report from the Bureau of Indian Affairs concluding that no amendments to existing law were required but that a revision to regulations should be considered. The proposed regulations, which were the subject of tribal consultation in January of this year,

would require the teaching and maintenance of native languages, if desired by a tribal government.

In contrast to the handling of the act at the Federal level, I am informed that the act has become a stimulus for change in some jurisdictions, owing largely to local commitment to the policies expressed in the act as well as to local leadership. But absent any financial resources, commitment and leadership may not be enough.

To address that need is the purpose of the measure we consider this morning. In addition to inviting testimony on S. 2044 as introduced, we have invited witnesses to comment on a proposed amendment which was developed on the basis of a recommendation from the White House Conference on Indian Education. The amendment would authorize tribal governments, at their discretion, to form partnerships with schools, colleges, or universities to conduct native American language programs with the assistance of the grants that would be provided under the authority of the proposed legislation.

I have offered the amendment because of the encouragement I have received from tribal leaders in response to my letter earlier this year. Their responses will be made part of the record of this hearing.

[Text of S. 2044 follows:]

II

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2044

To assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 25 (legislative day, NOVEMBER 23), 1991

Mr. INOUYE (for himself, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. DECONCINI, and Mr. MURKOWSKI) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs

---

A BILL

To assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Native American Languages Act of 1991".

SEC. 2. GRANT PROGRAM.

The Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2991) is amended by adding after section 803A the following new section:

"SEC. 803B. GRANT PROGRAM TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND CONTINUING VITALITY OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall award grants to any organization that is—

"(1) eligible for financial assistance under section 803(a); and

"(2) selected pursuant to subsection (c) of this section;

for the purposes of assisting Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages.

"(b) IN PARTICULAR.—The specific purposes for which grants awarded under subsection (a) may be used include, but are not limited to—

"(1) the construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Native American languages;

"(2) the establishment of community language programs to bring older and younger Native Americans together to facilitate the transfer of language skills from one generation to another;

"(3) the establishment of training programs to train speakers of Native American languages to teach such languages to others;

"(4) the development, printing, and dissemination of materials to be used for the teaching and enhancement of Native American languages;

"(5) the establishment or support of training programs to train Native Americans to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be broadcast in their native languages; and

"(6) the compilation of oral testimony to record or preserve Native American languages.

"(c) APPLICATIONS.—Grants shall be awarded on the basis of applications that are submitted by any of the entities described in subsection (a) to the Secretary in such form as the Secretary shall prescribe, but the applications shall, at a minimum, include—

"(1) a detailed description of the project for which a grant is sought; and

"(2) a statement of objectives that are consonant with the purposes of this section.

"(d) AMOUNT OF FUNDING.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the costs of programs that are awarded grants pursuant to this section shall be paid in accordance with the following paragraphs:

"(1) 90 PERCENT OF COSTS.—The grants awarded pursuant to this section shall provide fund-

ing for not more than 90 percent of the costs of the programs that are recipients of such grants.

"(2) REMAINING 10 PERCENT OF COSTS.—The remaining 10 percent of the costs of programs that are awarded grants under this section shall be paid by the grant recipient either in cash or through the provision of property or services.

"(3) LIMITATION.—The amount referred to in paragraph (2) may originate from any source (including any Federal agency) other than a program, contract, or grant authorized under this Act.

"(e) ADMINISTRATION.—The Secretary shall administer grants under this section through the Administration for Native Americans.".

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 816 of the Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2992d) is amended—

(1) by striking out "sections 803(d) and 803A" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "sections 803(d), 803A, and 803B"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary for each of the fiscal years 1993,

1 1994, 1995, 1996, and 1997 for the purpose of carrying
2 out the provisions of section 803B of this Act.".

The CHAIRMAN. Our first witness today is Dominic Mastrapasqua, the Deputy Commissioner of the Administration for Native Americans.

Mr. Commissioner, welcome, sir.

STATEMENT OF DR. DOMINIC MASTRAPASQUA, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, ADMINISTRATION FOR NATIVE AMERICANS, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, WASHINGTON, DC

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Thank you, sir. I would like to compliment you, Senator, on the correct pronunciation of my name. It is a rare treat to hear it pronounced correctly. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I thought everyone knew how to pronounce it. [Laughter.]

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Thank you for the opportunity to testify on S. 2044, the Native American Languages Act. Commissioner S. Timothy Wapato sends his warm greetings to the committee and would be here this morning to testify on this legislation if it were not for a longstanding out-of-town commitment.

S. 2044 would establish a new grant program to tribes and native American organizations to assist native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages. While the administration fully supports the concept of preserving native American language, we do not support the establishment of a new grant program within the Administration for Native Americans [ANA]. ANA already has sufficient authority to carry out the purpose of S. 2044 under the Native American Programs Act of 1974.

In addition, we have an additional concern about this bill. We object to the 10-percent grantee match as proposed in section 2 of S. 2044. Currently, grant authorities under the Native American Programs Act require 20-percent matching by the grantee. We see no justification for reducing the matching requirement for this new grant authority. Moreover, as a general policy matter, we object to the use of other Federal dollars to satisfy the required grantee match.

We recognize that this provision may have been included in order to ensure that the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA] funded schools are eligible for grants under this bill. However, we believe BIA-funded school eligibility should be addressed in a different manner.

The goal of the Native American Programs Act is to promote social and economic self-sufficiency among native populations. This goal is sufficiently broad to encompass the purposes of preserving native culture and language, and ANA already provides funding to eligible organizations for this purpose. In the last few years, ANA has received an increasing number of grant applications from tribes and organizations which focus on enhancing and strengthening tribal governmental structures through cultural heritage preservation activities.

Language maintenance, and in some cases, language renewal is a critical measure of the strength of a society. In fact, three major studies focus on the effect and impact of native languages on the social and economic circumstances of native Americans. These studies attribute the loss and decline of these languages as a direct

contributory factor to the bleak socioeconomic situation of these societies. Both the White House Conference on Indian Education and the recently completed Indian Nations at Risk Task Force strongly recommended the inclusion of native languages in the development of overall strategies designed to assist all native Americans.

A recent University of Minnesota study concerning the "State of Native American Youth Health" states unequivocally that efforts to address the many problems that face native American youth must be built on the cultures, religions, and traditions of American Indians and Alaskan Native communities. The study further states that "then and only then can we be assured that the solutions sought will be rooted in the community values so critical to their success."

As one of our grantees put it:

> Teaching our language is important for the tenacity of the spirit. The way our life is viewed and our values expressed is through our traditional language. It is different than the European world view. Our world is described in an active alive way. Language is the bedrock upon which tradition and ritual is premised; the culture rests upon this. If a person has respect, they lead a life of harmony. Our language teaches our people the right thing to do.

In response to these concerns, in 1990 President Bush signed into law the Native Americans Languages Act, title I, Public Law 101-477. This legislation invests the U.S. Government with the responsibility to work together with native Americans to ensure the survival of cultures and languages unique to native America. This law declares that it is the policy of the United States "to preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages."

Due at least in part to these legislative efforts, over the past several years there has been a significant cultural renaissance in native American communities. Because of this renewed interest in the preservation of native American languages, ANA has included among its funded activities language preservation and enhancement in its Coordinated Discretionary Program [CDP] to develop native American cultural centers. Four grants were awarded for this purpose in 1990.

In summary, we recognize that language preservation and enhancement are important to the continuation of native American cultures. The Administration for Native Americans will continue its efforts to promote these activities throughout the native American community.

This concludes my official presentation.

[Prepared statement of Dr. Mastrapasqua appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Commissioner. I am pleased to have your assurance that you agree that language is the bedrock upon which tradition and ritual is premised; the culture rests upon this. And in your statement, you recognize that language preservation and enhancement are important to the continuation of native American cultures. However, you are not in favor of this measure.

You spoke of four cultural center grants. I presume that there were language components to these grants.

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the nature of these language components?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. What it attempted to do was to provide an impetus to the community to develop those language aspects which were crucial to that community. But it was, indeed, one of a number of other objectives that were funded. It should not be seen in isolation from these others.

The CHAIRMAN. Will they be spending part of the grant for language enhancement?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain of that?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Yes, I am.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of the grants that you awarded in 1991 had language components?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. I don't have those figures readily available, but I would be happy to provide that information for the record.

[Information to be provided follows:]

Aside from the grants awarded through the Coordinated Discretionary Program, ANA did not award any grants in fiscal year 1991 which had language objectives, however, these projects did not receive a high enough score through our peer review process and, therefore, were not funded. In fiscal year 1991, ANA was only able to fund 167 new competitive grants out of a total of 457 applications submitted during the three closing dates.

The CHAIRMAN. I would hope so. But in round figures, what would it be? Half? A third? A quarter? A tenth?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. I would be reluctant to come up with a figure, Senator, only because I think it would be very misleading. All too frequently the grants are provided for economic development and a component of that economic development is the enhancement of that tribe's culture and language. I don't think that we've taken any specific steps to isolate that out in order to attach a dollar figure to it.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is your belief that at the present time the level of assistance you are providing is sufficient?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. On the basis of those applications we receive, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no further demand for language enhancement?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. I think the demand is there as native Americans become more cognizant of the fact that there is a Federal policy which encourages it, and demand will certainly increase.

The CHAIRMAN. And under the present circumstances, you are able to meet that demand?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. We are able to meet those demands that are presented to us currently, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So there is no need for further appropriations?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. At this time, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Akaka, do you have any questions?

Senator AKAKA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do have a statement, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to have the statement included in the record in its entirety. The reason is I'm going to use Hawaiian words.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

[Prepared statement of Senator Akaka appears in appendix.]

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL K. AKAKA, U.S. SENATOR FROM HAWAII

Senator AKAKA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Aloha Kakahiaka. Good morning. We are here today to receive testimony on an issue that is fundamental to the survival of our Nation's native cultures—native American languages. As a native Hawaiian and cosponsor of S. 2044, this is an issue that is very important to me, to all of us.

For the past 500 years with the arrival of westernization, native peoples of America have fought for the survival of their cultures. They have literally fought and will continue to fight the Federal and State governments over land and water rights, political status, religion, and the improvement of the education, health, and well-being of their families. However, nothing can be more important than the efforts by native Americans to preserve their native languages.

As one of the official languages of the State of Hawaii since 1978, efforts to preserve the Hawaiian language have made great progress at the State level. Earlier this year, the State board of education approved a policy which would allow public students to be taught entirely in the Hawaiian language through high school. And the University of Hawaii, which currently offers bachelor degrees in Hawaiian language and culture, is in the process of creating a masters program.

The reason I bring this up is to highlight the recognition by the State of Hawaii and its citizens that survival of Hawaiian culture depends on the preservation of the Hawaiian language. An article written in a Hawaii newspaper entitled "Hawaiian Immersion Idea May Divide Us" triggered a healthy debate on the issue of Native languages last year. Contrary to the author's intention, the outcome was the approval of the two programs which I just mentioned.

Efforts to offer native American language classes from kindergarten to 12th grade and through higher education should be advanced in all States. The Federal Government must recognize the need for action and increase its efforts to assist all State and native American governments or organizations in the perpetuation of our Nation's native languages. S. 2044 is essential to the success of this effort.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to cite a few lines from a recently released song written by one of Hawaii's leading song artists and native Hawaiian leaders which really embodies the expression of the Hawaiian people. This was written by Haunani Apoliona.

E mau ana ka ha'aheo, ka ha'aheo o ka nohona.
Ke ola kamaēhu o ka lāhui, o ka lāhui Hawai'i.
Ka lāhui pono'ī o nā kai, o nā kai 'ewalu.
Me nā mea 'oi loa mai nā wa mamua, e holomua kākou i keia au.
Ua hiki mai ka wana'ao no ka ho'ōla a me ka ho'āla hou.

Translated: "The pride endures. The pride in our lifestyle and values. The lifestyle that is firm in resolution and fixed in purpose. The lifestyle that has been nurtured by Hawaiians of all islands.

Let us move forward to the future carrying with us the best from the past. The time has arrived for the revitalizing and reawakening of our community."

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much, Senator.

Senator Simon.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL SIMON, U.S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS

Senator SIMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I regret that I have a markup in the Judiciary Committee in just a few minutes on voting rights extension, which includes securing voting rights for people who speak Navajo or whose mother tongue is not English.

I would be interested in whatever the Deputy Commissioner has to say about what is happening in our country in terms of these languages. In glancing through the other testimony, because I won't be able to stay, I see that one of the witnesses, Kenneth Hale of MIT, has in an article said, "In the United States there are no institutions in which speakers of Native American languages, on the basis of authoritative knowledge of those languages alone, can obtain secure tenured positions which would enable them to pursue life-long careers studying and teaching their Native languages." Is that true as far as you know, and what is the overall picture in terms of language preservation?

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Within the context of the funding authority that we have, we have recognized that the language aspect is crucial in terms of the culture's ability to survive. We at ANA extend to the Indian community, in fact to the entire native community, the encouragement and financial support to keep that language priority, that culture priority, alive and well.

I am not in a position, Senator, to comment on any of the national studies. I can only attest to the fact that within the confines of my experience, both as a former administrator in Head Start where some 20 years, 15 years ago, we initiated a series of minigrants to tribes and native communities in order to get them to realize that the Federal Government was encouraging the policy of preservation of their language and their culture. I think we've been fairly successful in giving that signal, but it is within the confines of those Federal agencies that have as a legislative mandate working with native communities. I cannot say that outside the confines of those agencies with a specific native mandate whether the rest of the world is acknowledging the fact that they, too, have a role to play.

Senator SIMON. I guess what I am really trying to pursue, and maybe my colleague who is the junior Senator from Hawaii, with all due respect to the senior Senator, my colleague who is a native Hawaiian here may know about—I'm getting myself in trouble here; I can see that right now. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Keep on going. [Laughter.]

Senator SIMON. But for example in voting, in areas where you have reservations, it is mostly the older American Indians who come in and do not have English skills who have to have assistance. Are these, for example, native Hawaiian language skills, are the numbers of people who can utilize that language, is that a de-

clining number? I would ask you, the Senator from Hawaii, and my colleague from Alaska probably has some observations in that area, too. I am just curious; is this a declining number of people who have this ability, and what kind of a problem do we face? I guess that is my question that the Commissioner says he's not equipped to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. In the case of Hawaii, in general terms, at the turn of the century every native Hawaiian was able to converse, read, and write in the native language. About 1940, it was less than half. By 1960, I would say that less than 10 percent of the native population could carry on a conversation with any fluency. However, in the last 10 years, as Senator Akaka has pointed out, the State of Hawaii has involved itself in a very vigorous program for language and cultural enhancement, and the number of Hawaiians capable of fluency in their native language has now gone up rather sharply. I have been to classes where little children carry on all of their activities in the native tongue and the next hour in English. So I am certain it is beginning to pick up now. We do not hope to achieve 100 percent, but if we can get one-third or one-half, that would be a good beginning.

Senator SIMON. And you can preserve that part of the heritage. Yes; that's right. That's important.

The CHAIRMAN. And as the witness pointed out, often times language is very important because you need the language as part of the ritual and the traditions. Without ritual and tradition, you have no culture. Therefore, no language, no culture.

Senator MURKOWSKI. I might just add as far as Alaska is concerned—and we've got an expert witness, Doctor Krauss, who will be testifying—but out of the 75,000 to 84,000 Natives, I would estimate a solid 20,000 or thereabouts. The important thing to recognize, as far as Alaska is concerned, is we have 20 individual indigenous languages, dialects, and so forth in our State. It is estimated that they will all be lost by the year 2055 unless we initiate a workable, meaningful program such as this legislation addresses.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SIMON. I thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator MURKOWSKI.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, U.S. SENATOR FROM ALASKA

Senator MURKOWSKI. I'll just be very brief. I would like to commend you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing. As you know, I introduced similar legislation in S. 1595, the Alaska Native Language Preservation and Enhancement Act. In July 1991, a hearing was held on that bill in Anchorage, AK, and we had a number of witnesses—in excess of 25. We had Doctor Krauss at that hearing as well, and I am looking forward to his testimony today. He represents the Linguistic Society of America. He is at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, and he basically has the responsibility of overseeing the Alaska Native Language Center at the university. So there is a formalized effort underway, and I certainly think that

his testimony will add a good deal of the working expertise to the consideration.

I think it is important to note that at the hearing that we held we addressed the reality that we face the threat of losing some 20 indigenous languages. This is a threat that is facing other areas of the country, as we look at the realities of the languages being lost. Testimony that we had at that Anchorage hearing was very moving. I think it fully illustrates the need for cooperation among Alaska's Native communities to save the language.

Some of the difficulties we ran into were the obvious—you have to use the elders; they are the ones that have the knowledge, the expertise. But the ability of the elders to meld into the educational system without proper certification is one that has to be addressed with some dispatch because various educational organizations feel quite strongly that you either have the academic qualifications and certification to come into the schools or you don't. Clearly, the elders don't and the ability to get that certification is, of course, rather time-consuming and defeats the ultimate purpose. So exceptions have to be made through the State department of education which has the responsibility in our State of Alaska of addressing qualifications and working with the teachers union, the NEA, and others. I just point that out as something that has to be addressed.

Another thing, of course, is the role of the Federal Government in providing funds. But I think the success of this kind of a program really depends on the will of the people. It is interesting in our State, we teach German and French and Spanish and Russian and Japanese in our school system but none of the 20 indigenous languages that are representative of the geographical location of our Native peoples is really taught, with very, very few exceptions. One wonders the merits of that.

I recall one witness, Bodine Carlo, who testified that she never taught her children how to speak her language because she said she didn't grow up learning the language, "I grew up with my language." I think there is an important distinction there. Most American Indian and Alaska Native children do not grow up with their language. They need to be taught their language. Clearly, we have failed in that effort. Yet we teach, as I mentioned, French, Russian, and so forth.

So, Mr. Chairman, I think the importance of maintaining native languages and the continuity is more than just a way of communicating. It is an identification with the roots of indigenous native people. It gives them an identity. I think Hawaii has been able to emulate that perhaps because of the tremendous role that the Hawaiian native people play visually that is romanced in the tourist industry and so forth. We have not quite been able to come up with anything to match "Aloha" but we're still working on it, Mr. Chairman.

Nevertheless, the identification with the roots of the people is really I think the most important single synonym, if you will, of what I am trying to express here and the value of this. That's why, as you look at the merits of this bill to extend this to all American native people, I certainly support the concept. We can't forget the reality that fluency in English is a success in the modern world, but I think our native people should have an opportunity to be suc-

cessful, if you will, in identification in both cultures without losing one or the other. That's why I support this legislation, Senator Inouye, and commend you for initiating this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much. I think it would be wrong to compare Hawaii with other native American societies because in Hawaii we have one language—Hawaiian; whereas, in Indian country, there were several hundred at one time, and I suppose it has dwindled down to just a handful, maybe 50 or 20 or so. And in Alaska, I think you have about 20.

Senator MURKOWSKI. That's correct. There are only three people in the—one person left in Eyak, which is near Cordova, so it will be lost if there is not. I think Doctor Krauss can address that.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Mastrapasqua, I thank you very much.

Dr. MASTRAPASQUA. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we have a panel made up of Prof. Kenneth Hale, department of linguistics and philosophy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Doctor Michael Krauss, representing the Linguistic Society of America, and president of the Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas, and director of the Alaska Native Language Center at Fairbanks; and Doctor Carl Downing, director of the Oklahoma Native American Language Issues Development Institute, Choctaw, OK.

Professor Hale, Doctor Krauss, and Doctor Downing. Gentlemen, we are most pleased to have you here.

May I first call upon Professor Hale.

STATEMENT OF KENNETH HALE, DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOSOPHY, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE, MA

Mr. HALE. Thank you very much. I have a little trouble with my voice, so tell me if you can't hear me. First, I want to commend Senator Inouye and other members of the committee who have taken on what I consider to be a wonderful task of seeing this legislation through the Congress. It is a positive step in support of the issue of great human, national, and international importance.

As a linguist who has worked for 35 years—more actually than 35 years—in relation to native American languages and other indigenous languages of the world, I have many reasons to support this legislation. I will organize my comments around just three issues, however. First, the international significance of the legislation; second, the human value and importance of linguistic and cultural diversity; and finally, the opportunities which now exist in the native American community by virtue of the industry which native American people have shown on behalf of their linguistic traditions.

First, the international significance of this bill resides in the fact that the issue which it addresses is not just a U.S. issue, but rather an issue of international importance. Deterioration of linguistic diversity as well as the deterioration of biological diversity in the world, for example, is a concern which is international in scope and is being marked during the recent years by activity on the part of international bodies. For example the Linguistic Society of America, which has international membership, has recently established

a committee on endangered languages, of which Michael Krauss is the chairman. The International Congress of Linguists will in its next meeting in Quebec City have six panels dealing with this concern. So the legislation that we're considering today is of international importance and fits directly into the general concern which I think is one of the most important in the world at this point.

The next issue that I would like to talk about is the human value of language diversity. What I want to stress is the notion of language diversity and what I think is important for all of us is the continued perpetuation of linguistic and cultural diversity in the world. There are several reasons for this. One of them is simply the scientific reason; that is, the science of language requires for its development the continued existence of language diversity in the world.

But quite apart from scientific concerns, there are more humanistic concerns that we must take into consideration which I think are extremely important. A language is, in fact, the repository of the intellectual wealth of a culture, the products of intellectual labor on the part of a peoples who speak those languages. This is true even where the expression of an artistic forum, for example, takes the shape of a building or the shape of a painting or a complexly constructed seafaring craft, for example. All of those things reside in the mind and are normally expressed not only in the object themselves, but in the terminology and in the sort of recipes that are used to effect the actual physical object. So no matter how concrete an object of culture might appear to be, it is ultimately rooted in language.

The most important fact to consider in this regard is the fact that the expression of cultural forms, for example, is often rooted inextricably in a particular language. So, take the easiest examples of this sort, poetry and music, that is the lyrical part of the expression of music in which the linguistic form is essential to the expression. So, for example, among the people that I've worked with most, Tohono O'odham in southern Arizona, the expression of verse, for example, the form which verse takes depends in a manner which is inseparable from the form of the language, the particular structure of what we call the phonology of the language and also an aspect of the syntax is integrated into that. So that the loss of the O'odham language, for example, would mean the loss of a cultural form which is beautiful and would be irretrievably lost. Even though the songs could be translated, the translations might in fact be beautiful themselves, but they are not the same as the original and the original can never be replaced by a translation. In general, the expression of cultural wealth is intimately associated and tied to the language.

There is also an aspect which I feel is extremely important and should be expressed whenever this issue is discussed, and that is the personal relationship to a language which a person could have and the grief a person can feel at having lost the opportunity to learn the language of his or her parents. I've seen this hundreds of times and I have a sort of feeling about how important that is. The thing is that this kind of loss can be reversed, as we've seen for example in the success of a number of different things around the world. For example, Ikastolas of the Basque community in Spain,

the Kohanga Reo of Maori and New Zealand, and of Punana Leo of Hawaiian. These institutions offer great promise. In this connection, just as in the other connections, the legislation that we're considering, S. 2044, is extremely important and will contribute tremendously to the perpetuation and further development of this kind of program.

The third of the things that I wanted to mention were the opportunities which exist in native American communities now. The native American people have been extremely industrious and inventive in addressing the concerns about language loss and endangerment. Several important stories can be told about the efforts that people have undertaken and the successes that they've had. For example, the Peach Springs Hualapai bilingual education program has actually accomplished an incredible feat by not only developing a program of extreme interest and value in their own community, but also by extending their ideas to a wider geographic range, ultimately developing the extremely important group called AILDI, American Indian Language Development Institute. That is an institute now working in cooperation also with NALI, Native American Language Issues Institute, which is now starting to promote some of its work in Oklahoma as well as in the Southwest.

The existence of these kinds of programs, and I've just mentioned a few, guarantees the effective use of the financial resources that this bill will provide. That is to say, this is an opportune time for this legislation to be passed.

I should hope in passing that the basic flexibility of the institutes that the native American communities have developed will be maintained in the implementation of this bill. This will require I think extension of the dispersement of the funds to include colleges and universities, since colleges and universities have been integrally related to these recent developments. And I would hope that the amendment which Bob Arnold has appended to the bill will be considered positively.

As a final remark, let me just say this to reinforce the importance that I feel attaches to a notion of language diversity. I think that an important human purpose is the fullest use of the mind in creating intellectual wealth or products of intellectual labor. An enabling condition for this is linguistic and cultural diversity, since it is that condition above all others that permits the exploration of the widest range of paths of creation. A mere glance around the world tells us this is so. Thus, the loss of a language is a certain tragedy for the human purpose, not just locally, but the human purpose in general. And the loss of a language, if it can be prevented, must be prevented. The Native American Languages Act of 1991, S. 2044, represents an important step in the effort to safeguard endangered linguistic traditions. I strongly support it, therefore.

That concludes my testimony.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Hale appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much, Professor. We will return to you, if we may, for questioning after listening to the panel.

Now may I call on Dr. Krauss.

STATEMENT OF MR. MICHAEL KRAUSS, REPRESENTING THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA; PRESIDENT, SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF THE AMERICAS; DIRECTOR, ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS, AK

Mr. KRAUSS. Mr. Chairman, Senators, ladies, and gentlemen, I am very grateful for the opportunity to present my testimony here in favor of S. 2044. I will first concentrate my efforts on the presentation of certain statistics—some good news and some not so good—in the hopes of providing some underpinning and also perspective on the scope of the problem of indigenous language loss in the United States as a part of the world in general. I hope that the statistics I offer will provide the eloquence to match the very concrete and very passionate testimony that I've heard from Senators here and my good colleague, Ken Hale.

I myself have also submitted written testimony in the form of an attachment submitted by Professor Hale, the result of some addresses that Ken and I gave to the Linguistic Society of America 1991 meeting plenary session, and which we will again be giving in another form to the International Congress of Linguists to be held in Quebec later this summer. At the same time I'm preparing also for that and for you a statistical summary of a survey of the present state of native American languages, and will beg your indulgence to be able to submit that sometime in the month of July, as soon as I've finished collating all of the information. I will present here a preliminary summary thereof.

The CHAIRMAN. We would be most pleased to received it, sir.

Mr. KRAUSS. Thank you. This is also to substitute then for the preliminary version of this, which I did present to Mr. Arnold of the committee before.

My testimony will begin with a summary of the situation in the world today. There are approximately—depending on how you want to define language and dialect—6,000 languages in the world. It is extremely difficult to find out exactly what proportion of those languages are no longer spoken by children, hence to be considered moribund and hence to be lost to mankind's intellectual possession in the century that is very nearly upon us. According to our best estimates, somewhere between 20 and 50 percent of the world's store of 6,000 languages are already no longer spoken by children. If we compare them then with the threat to the biological world, they are beyond mere endangerment, but are like species with no reproductive capacity to continue beyond the present generation, no matter the actual size of the population.

Of the rest of the world's languages, at the other end of the scale, one can calculate that perhaps 5 to 10 percent, at most, of the world's languages are safe, leaving then a figure of some 75 percent maximum, 40 percent minimum, of the world's languages that are merely endangered and not beyond endangerment. This gives you a worst scenario that during the coming century up to 90 percent of the world's languages will become either extinct or doomed to extinction. That many that soon. This is a terrible tragedy for all mankind. We stand to lose 90 percent of our traditional

intellectual wealth and—worse yet—of our ability, our freedom, to think in different ways.

When you consider also the hopes for survival of our linguistic diversity, you have to consider the political, social, economic conditions of the peoples who speak these languages and remember that the median size population for the world's languages is somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 people. So if you have a language of 10,000 people, you are probably already above the mean.

The biological situation in the world about which people expressed deep concern in Rio de Janeiro just this last week is obviously comparable and also closely related. The figures are also dramatically comparable. There are about 4,400 mammal species; about 7.4 percent of those are listed as endangered. How many are really endangered is surely well above 7.4 percent. For birds, of 8,600 species, only 2.7 percent are officially endangered. In my address to the Linguistic Society of America, I took what I now see was a cheap shot, really, in using these puny biological threat statistics to compare with the state of native languages of the United States and the world, where the threat is obviously so much greater. Actually, it may not be that much greater. There is a growing consensus among nongovernmental conservation biologists that maybe 50 percent and not 5 percent of the world's birds are endangered, as, for political and economic reasons, pressure to minimize the listing is extreme. Still, no matter how you compare it with the biological situation, the intellectual future of mankind is just as imperiled, if not more so, than the natural world around us is.

Other countries in the world have many more languages than the United States. Papua-New Guinea is at the top, with 850 native languages approximately; Indonesia has 670—these are not always the healthiest situations—Nigeria 410; India 380; Cameroon 270; Australia 250; Mexico 240; Zaire and Brazil each 210. Then we get to the United States. There were some 300 or perhaps more native languages of North America before 1492, as best we can ever know. The fact that over half, maybe as many as 190 of these 300-some languages, to amend your estimate, Mr. Chairman, not 60 or so or a handful, but over half of the native languages of North America—and this is the good news part—still are spoken or remembered by native North Americans. This is a very eloquent testimony to the tenacity, persistence, and love of American peoples for their own languages, that they have lasted this long and that some 190 in North America, more than half, are still remembered and spoken by someone. But for how much longer? This is the other side of the picture.

Of the 190 in North America, about 35 are exclusively in Canada, leaving about 155 native American United States languages still spoken or remembered. I have been trying to assess the situation of these languages and have defined them into four classes of viability for their future.

Class A are those languages that are still spoken by all or many or most of the children, which I would then consider viable. These form a very distinct class and a very elite class. In this first class there are maybe 20 languages, still spoken by people of all ages, in the United States; 20 native American languages or thus about 13 percent of the 155 are in class A.

Class B is a larger class, no longer with children but still with all adults able to speak the language, including the immediate parental generation. About 30 such languages or 20 percent are in class B.

Class C is the largest, about 60, or 40 percent, of the 155 languages, are spoken only by middle-aged or older adults, grandparental generation, and up.

Then another alarming statistic—the 45 remaining languages or 30 percent are in class D. These are spoken only by a very few of the most elderly, say age 75 and up, and only a small handful, say by one to a half-dozen elderly individuals. This 30 percent of our languages is very unlikely to survive into the next century at all.

Thus, at the rate things are going, of the present 155 languages, by the year 2000, 45 will be gone; by 2025, 60 more will be gone; and by 2050, 30 more—135 of 155 languages extinct. And will the remaining 20 too be on the road to extinction?

Even with these class A languages, none are safe. If you take safety in numbers, for example, which you would think Navajo had, being by far the largest North American native group, some 200,000 people approximately, according to informal reports recently that whereas in 1969–70, 90 percent of the children in first grade, age 6, came to school able to speak Navajo or dominant or monolingual in Navajo; now, according to these informal reports, it is quite the reverse, that some 80 to 90 percent of Navajo children coming into the schools at age 6 are able to speak English and unable to speak Navajo. During this last 20 years then a major American tragedy has taken place. I'm not aware that this has been mentioned publicly before. Navajo had the great majority of children speaking any native language of the United States, more than all the rest put together. If not Navajo, then none of these uniquely American languages is safe. All native American languages are threatened or beyond that.

There is a fifth category which I hope will be represented somehow here today—those native peoples in the United States whose languages are already extinct. Mr. Anderson, who was to be on this panel, represents such a group. I cannot give you the figures on how many groups there are in various parts of the United States whose native language is already extinct but adequately documented such that, with academic philological help, enough could be put together to provide a program that would reestablish the language at some level of usage in the community. I have heard of such cases as Miluk Coos, represented by Mr. Anderson, or Tillamook, also in Oregon, or perhaps Catawba here in the East, communities that would like to revive languages that are already extinct. This possibility is also not to be excluded. I myself represent people whose ancestral language had not been anyone's native spoken language for nearly 2,000 years, Hebrew; it had a good written record and was as such assiduously cultivated. It now again has native speakers, in the millions. That is obviously a unique and spectacular example but very concrete and possibly an inspiration. Many native American languages have, I should add, as good a written record as did Hebrew, even a better one in some ways.

I would like to go on with some statistics specifically for different States in the United States. The State with the largest number of

languages is California with some 31 native languages, none still spoken by children, 2 spoken by all adults, 7 by middle-aged and over, and 22 nearly extinct—22 languages that probably will become extinct within this decade. Oklahoma, the second largest, has 23 languages—2 still spoken by children, 2, 13, and 6 in the rest of the categories. Alaska is third with 20 languages—2 still spoken by children (Central Yupik in the Bethel area of Alaska, and on St. Lawrence Island, Siberian Yupik), 7 others by all adults, 10 by only elders, and 1 (Eyak) by only 1 person.

Washington State has 16 languages—none spoken by anyone under perhaps 60 and 9 out of the 16 spoken only by small handfuls of elders. Arizona and New Mexico are in a different category—11 languages each, the majority of those languages, 7 out of 11 in Arizona, and 6 out of 11 in New Mexico, are still spoken by all generations. For how much longer, we don't know. That still includes Navajo, for the moment.

Montana would be the next—no children speaking any of the 10 languages, so 0, 3, 6 and 1 in descending category order. North Dakota has seven languages; Oregon has six; New York, Idaho, Wisconsin, and Nebraska have five; Kansas and Nevada, four; and so on down to about seven States which have only one language. For example, Mississippi has only one, but that is Choctaw, still spoken by all ages, still very vital. And then there is Hawaii, which also has only one language. There, only on the small island of Niihau, population 300, westernmost, does everyone, of all ages, speak Hawaiian, including a few dozen children who are thus the only native-speaking children of Hawaiian left, on this small island with a rather individual history—quite isolated from the rest of Hawaii, where only the very oldest native Hawaiians, perhaps a total of 700, all over the age of 70 or 75, now still speak Hawaiian as their native language. However—and this is very important—there are beginning to be new young speakers again, even a few native-speaking children in a few families, as a result of the Punana Leo movement, an extension of the New Zealand Maori Kohanga Reo language nest movement. This should also be an inspiring example to other States. Those ideas are already spreading to, for example, Alaskan communities in the North who are developing Inupiaq Eskimo language nests.

All-important is the peoples' will to restore their native languages; especially after they've lost them, their awareness of the loss becomes extremely acute. We know ourselves from our work at the Alaska Native Language Center that you cannot from outside inculcate into people the will to revive or maintain their languages. That has to come from them, themselves. This is one of the things that is so encouraging about this bill. Aside from the fact that it is to provide the only funding I know of that could be adequate to support this need, this is a need that has to come from, and must by the nature of this bill, come from the will of the people themselves. No academics, no linguists, or even legislators can legislate that will; it has to come from that core of the inner being and identity that has so eloquently been described here. Only language comes that close to one's heart for it.

It is for that reason that I believe this bill will make possible programs more effective than the more superficial or external and

therefore far less promising means of addressing the problem. S.2044 holds the most promise that this tragic loss can perhaps be alleviated or even reversed in some cases. If the money has to be requested by the people themselves as an expression of their own inner determination to do something with their language, I believe that programs resulting from this bill will have more success than any other.

What is needed depends, in large part, on the situation of each language. The closer to oblivion the language has proceeded, probably the more need for academic specialists' intervention and help. Where you have children who still speak the language, just provide the means to allow them to keep on doing this, and for them to grow with it, as their society sees fit. Keep in mind, however, what is probably the greatest scourge of all now threatening native American languages, not just the schools but the television set. I am glad to see that this bill also addresses the need and obvious possibility for converting the broadcast media as well as the school system to the use and survival of native languages.

We linguists, who have for many years tried to contribute our best, and do so routinely at the University of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, can provide the linguistic expertise for the development of writing systems, documentation, dictionaries, and grammars, which form the base then for the development of materials to be used in these programs, and for training programs for the teachers that are so sorely needed. You cannot just take some elder off the street and put him in front of a blackboard and expect him to be able to teach the language in any traditional way. The traditional way is the best; this academic approach can only supplement it, or be considered to replace it only in those cases where the traditional way has been lost. I am afraid that the traditional way has been lost in most native American communities. Therefore, I think it is also extremely important to include Mr. Arnold's amendment about the partnership of academic or other such centers for the support of the programs that this bill would address.

I thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you in support of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Krauss.

Dr. Downing.

STATEMENT OF CARL DOWNING, DIRECTOR, OKLAHOMA NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE ISSUES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE, CHOCTAW, OK

Mr. DOWNING. On behalf of the Native American Language Issues Institute, better known as NALI, I want to thank you for this opportunity to appear before this committee to give testimony.

First, I would like to tell you just a bit about our organization. It is a nonprofit organization first chartered in 1986 for the purpose of protecting the rights of native American communities to preserve and utilize their language in the perpetuation of native American cultural base. NALI actually began in about 1980, when a group of concerned professionals and native speakers met to talk about the need to preserve the languages. It has been through this

cooperation that the goals to preserve, protect, and promote the development of native languages developed.

Language, if not the most important, is certainly one of the most important components of survival of any culture. Language is more than communication; it is more than the words and their meanings. Language is a conduit for culture, tradition, and for the development of the center of our being. The importance of language is expressed very well by Keepers of the Treasurers. They say:

> At the very core of preservation, from the perspective of American Indian tribes, is the retention and use of languages. Native American cultures are living traditional cultures in which the past is transmitted orally from one generation to the next. Information about the past, about the spiritual, ceremonial, and natural worlds is passed through language. Without it, a culture can be irreparably damaged.

The Federal Government has made known this need through the Native American Languages Act. "The traditional languages of American Indians are an integral part of their culture and identities and form the basic medium of transmission, and thus survival, of the Native American cultures, literatures, histories, and religions."

The members of NALI, the executive committee is very supportive of S. 2044. I want to divide my testimony into four areas—the human condition, congressional acknowledgement of needs, inadequate financial resources, and, last, some recommendations.

My colleague, Doctor Krauss, has given you several statistics that I had included in my testimony, but he has done them much better than I could. One of the things that we find is that when you lose a language, you lose a culture. In our pluralistic society, the loss of one culture is a loss to the rest. And it is this diversity that makes our country what it is. And it is through bills such as this that this diversity can be maintained.

It is easy to translate words—for some people it is easy to translate words. If you take the example of apple pie, that can be translated into virtually any language. But the thought that apple pie brings to the average American is very different than it would be to someone in France or England or New Guinea. It is interesting that the Kickapoo translation is "apple sweetbread"—fairly close. But that still misses the kind of thing that we, who have grown up in America with the tradition of apple pie, would get from that term.

If a native language dies out, it is very difficult to convey the unique elements and culture of that people without the language. We have heard the statistics from both of my colleagues here of the number of languages that are either in danger or have totally died out. We lose a culture with each of those.

One of the statements that is made by a Bad River Band Chippewa is "not to know the language is to be left out." I think this is the position that many of us find ourselves in. We have been raised with a certain amount of culture but because of certain conditions, the desire to buy into the American dream or some other need, we have lost our language. Those of us who are like me feel a very real loss because we do not have that language. We are not quite sure what it is we do not have, but we are certain that there is something missing. And it is through a bill such as this that that can be preserved for others in the future.

One of the things that tends to happen is there is a lack of self-identity that is devastating to all parts of our lives—our health, our socioeconomic status, the way that we relate to the dominant culture. Some statistics that may help look at this: Native American students have the highest school dropout rate in the Nation, 36 percent. That compares to 28 percent for Hispanics, 22 percent for blacks, 15 percent for whites, and 8 percent for Asians. Native Americans constitute something less than .7 of 1 percent of the population enrolled in higher education institutions. The general population is well over 1 percent. So it is about 50 percent of what should be included.

The Journal of American Indian Medical Association reports that American Indian, Alaska Native youths experience a greater frequency of drug abuse, depression, suicide, and alcoholism than the rest of the population. Suicide deaths among American Indian and Alaska Native youths are reported more than twice that comparatively of any other age group in the United States.

I think that we have looked at some of the efforts that Congress has made to support native languages, but I want to say very clearly that those efforts have been wholly inadequate to do the job that needs to be done. The Native American Languages Act of 1990 certainly was a step in that direction and has invigorated some of the States at least to attempt to include native languages as a part of the foreign language requirements. In my own State of Oklahoma, we require now that from K–12 that students be exposed to a foreign language. It is also stipulated in that law that native languages can substitute for that foreign language. It is somewhat ironic that in Oklahoma, with the largest Indian population, that the native languages should be referred to as "foreign languages."

There are some efforts on the part of the Federal Government to support native languages. The National Park Service provides funds for preservation of languages; however, it is only one component of the National Park's funding. For example, in 1992, the National Park Service received 183 applications totaling a request for about $6 million. They were able to fund 38 preservation projects for about $900,000. In 1991, of the 183 submissions, 97 addressed language issues; only 19 were funded. Those statistics go on and on in a very similar vein. Large requests, small funding.

NALI wants to express its support for the native American Federal financial assistance programs. We think they are great; we want those to continue. But we feel that a bill like S. 2044 will add to and become a much greater fulfiller of the needs as they occur.

We do have some recommendations which we would offer.

In section 803(b). We feel that construction should be considered a subordinate activity; that the primary activity should be directed toward survival and continuing vitality of native American languages.

In (b)(5), the scope of communication should be expanded to produce or participate in mass media technological communication in native languages. We feel that it is very vital that we take advantage of the current state-of-the-art materials to provide for the survival of our languages.

In addition, we feel that there should be a waiver of the non-Federal share, the 10 percent share. Many tribes, particularly those

that find themselves in the most dire straits with their languages are also the poorest. To provide 10 percent of the cost would mean that they would have to take that from some survival, truly survival part of their budget.

We feel that the awards should be made on a non-restrictive prior or current funding status.

We have a suggestion as to the amount. Language is a living part of history which is as important as the artificial part of history, the artifacts. NALI therefore recommends that the Native Languages Act of 1991 provide funding at a level that is consistent with the National Museum of the American Indian—and we do not want to take away from that; it is very vital—of approximately $16 million. We also suggest that this amount be allocated for the years of authorization.

This funding could provide for six language centers with an approximately $500,000 annual grant to each. The strategic placement of these language centers would allow direct communications with the communities who would receive the benefits of the grants that would be provided. We feel that this would allow between 180 to 200 grants that would range from $65,000 to $200,000.

In summary, I would like to say that we are very supportive of this bill. We think that it is extremely important. Without this, there will be more native languages lost. I would like to end with a paraphrase of words from a Navajo elder. "If you don't breathe, there is no air; if you don't open your eyes, there is no sky; if you don't listen, there are no ancestors; if you don't walk, there is no earth; if you don't speak, there is no world."

Thank you very much.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Downing appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much, Doctor Downing.

In the past 5 years, this committee has been very much concerned about the demise of native Americans. And so we decided, notwithstanding the official policies of this Nation, to adopt a different approach. First, we decided that it would be our responsibility as one of the trustees to make certain that the sovereignty of Indian nations is upheld and strengthened. Second, that everything possible should be done to enhance culture, tradition, and language, and in so doing we are hoping to cut down those statistics that you have cited with regard to dropouts and suicides and such. We have not succeeded, obviously, in meeting our goals but we are doing our best.

What all three of you have presented to us is a story of impending tragedy; in fact, it is upon us. We speak of endangered species, but I did not realize conditions are this bad. As Professor Krauss pointed out, the loss of language is the loss of intellectual wealth. I quite agree with that. So I will ask a question which on its face may seem obvious and unfair, but I must ask.

Deputy Commissioner Mastrapasqua indicated that the programs under the American Native Administration is adequate, the authority provided is adequate, and that moneys provided that agency is adequate to carry out fully the intent of the law as embodied in S. 2044. Do you agree with that?

Mr. KRAUSS. I must admit my own complete ignorance of that as a resource from my experience in Alaska, and that my own igno-

rance about that might be exemplary, that we are unaware, shall we say, that this is an adequate amount. I put it in those terms.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor Hale.

Mr. HALE. Well I seriously doubt that the resources that were mentioned, although he didn't mention any figures and he was reluctant to mention any actual programs and so forth, but I seriously doubt that the funding is adequate. The adequate funding of the kind of program we think, at least I think, is necessary to seriously correctly address the problem that we have in front of us is quite large. I know that it will be at least perhaps ten times as much as what the Commissioner had in mind. I don't think by any means that it was an adequate amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Downing.

Mr. DOWNING. I will not be as eloquent. I will say a flat, no, it is not adequate. And I will say that this inadequacy was very well illustrated by the Commissioner's inability to name the programs or the amounts, his unwillingness to even speculate on how much of that fund goes to the development of languages. I would also submit that the Commissioner has not talked to elders of a tribe who say that nobody except the three or four of us plus two or three more speak our language. He has not witnessed a funeral where because of illness they were unable to get a tribal elderly to come and perform the last rites for an individual. The heartache that went into that funeral. He was unable to witness that or he would not have been able to have sat here and said that there was an adequate amount being spent.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Krauss, your testimony on the one remaining Alaskan who speaks a certain language reminded me that about 5 years ago I read an account of the death of the last surviving member of a California tribe. It must have been a tragic day. Now how old is this person in Alaska?

Mr. KRAUSS. Mrs. Marie Smith was born in 1920. She is the last of the five Eyak speakers that I have known in the 30 years, dwindling away one after another to now one. Her grandchildren want very much to learn the language from her. She has no means of teaching it in the traditional way. Even in the case of Eyak, there is a strong desire on the part of this small remaining population to do something with their language. But in California, where I mentioned a figure of I think 20-some languages which are in the state of Eyak, every year in the next decade or so one of those languages is going to be dying with no one able to perform the funeral rites. We will be seeing, in fact, the funeral of whole peoples.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't suppose that any major university or college in this Nation would have adequate programs to cover native American languages. They are much more concerned about romance languages, I would suppose.

What do you think of the idea that members of this committee are presently working upon, and that is the development of an American Indian university? One of at least equal magnitude with that of Howard University, which was created by Congress to help the children and descendants of slaves. There is no American Indian university today; there are 22 tribally controlled Indian colleges, most of them would not present baccalaureate degrees. They have AA degrees, limited resources, notwithstanding they do a tre-

mendous job. But what do you think of the concept of an American Indian university in which languages, obviously, would be an important component? Would it be a wise utility of resources?

Mr. KRAUSS. Speaking strictly as a language man, considering the complexity or rather richness that our native language heritage represents in this country, such a university might have to serve 155 different languages and peoples, different as French, German, Japanese, Chinese, and Zulu.

How much might it cost? I can tell you in the case of just the languages themselves, the Alaska Native Language Center needs a budget of over $500,000 just for the university's role in serving the 20 languages in the State of Alaska. For the programs throughout the State in the schools, several millions per year are required to serve the needs, as well as they are being met so far in Alaska, not altogether adequately, of 20 languages. Multiply those figures then by seven or so, and you have some idea of the budget necessary for such a central institution, and minimal local programs.

Whether such an institution should be established in a single place or whether there should be a network of native American language centers and culture and university-like establishments, one of Ken Hale's colleagues has proposed just that, and he might also have something to say on that on a broader interstate sense. [Alaska is obviously unique in being a State which has, for United States purposes, its languages perfectly well defined by its borders, sharing some with Canada and Russia, but no other State. Most other States have interstate languages.]

The CHAIRMAN. Professor Hale.

Mr. HALE. Yes; one of the contributions in the attachment that I included with my testimony is the description of a center by Laverne Jeanne, who is a speaker of Hopi and who has a Ph.D. in linguistics, the first I think in recent years to get a Ph.D. in linguistics. Her concept is something that could fit into a native American university. However, there would have to be several such centers I think in the country.

Let me just make one strong point, however, is that the credentialing of the staff for the native American language component would have to be defined in terms quite different from the usual credentialing in any university. The credentials would have to be mastery and expression of devotion and talent in the use and teaching of the language, and mastery of the language in particular. The tenuring of people should be based on those qualifications and not the qualifications that are usually considered in giving tenure in American universities. I think it is an excellent idea, basically; the basic idea is wonderful, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Dr. Downing.

Mr. DOWNING. I think the greatest disappointment I had for the White House Conference on Indian Education was the limited amount of attention that was given to the need for an American Indian university. I would agree with Doctor Hale's comments about the need for a central campus and the need for a network of campuses. I also would agree that probably the language component would be the major department of the university.

I would wholeheartedly support such an effort and would be glad to provide whatever assistance that we can provide in Oklahoma. We do have one tribe that is currently undergoing a real severe effort to establish a 4-year university. I am not sure whether those efforts will be successful or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I probably should have asked this question of the first witness, but do any of the witnesses in this panel know what the ANA is doing now on this issue?

Mr. DOWNING. I believe that you will have testimony from ANA. They are providing some language help, but it is a component of and not the major thrust of the grants that they give, is my understanding.

Senator MCCAIN. Have there been efforts made in the past that you know of?

Mr. DOWNING. To provide funds for——

Senator MCCAIN. To preserve languages, whether it be funds or grants or——

Mr. DOWNING. In our research, the major source that we found was the Park Service. They are funding roughly 60 proposals a year, approximately 20 of which have language components or are major parts language.

Senator MCCAIN. But apparently from the statistics that we have, as far as the dramatic decline of language capability, those programs haven't been too successful. Would you agree?

Mr. DOWNING. They've met with varying degrees of success. I think that basically they have been short-term programs and short-term funding. You need to have long-term funding. In our background effort to deliver this testimony, we estimate that if this bill is passed, there will be approximately 700 entities who would be eligible to apply for funding and we have always tried to err on the side of being conservative in our numbers.

Senator MCCAIN. I see. Thank you. Thank the panel. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you all very much. Because of my interest, I would like to have an opportunity to continue this dialog with you and I would like to send questions, if I may. Thank you very much.

Mr. DOWNING. Thank you.

Mr. HALE. Thank you.

Mr. KRAUSS. Thank you very much, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next panel is made up of the following. Charles White Elk, tribal council member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Kyle, SD. I have been advised that Troy Anderson, who was supposed to be with us, is presently stranded in Chicago because of the tornadoes in that area. He will be represented by Jerry Farley, executive vice president of Coquille Economic Development Co., Renton, WA. And Tommy Yazzie, superintendent of the Leupps Schools, Inc., Winslow, AZ, accompanied by Joe Yazzie. I have also been advised that Mr. White Elk is not here with us.

So Mr. Farley and Mr. Yazzie, welcome. May I first call on Mr. Farley.

STATEMENT OF JERRY FARLEY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, COQUILLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CO., RENTON, WA

Mr. FARLEY. My name is Jerry Farley and I very much appreciate, Senators and members of the committee, that you would allow me to substitute for Mr. Anderson. He is in Chicago. I took a different plane from Seattle last night; I went through Newark, I'm here. I came mostly to support him because he was, it would be fair to say, quite nervous that he would not be an adequate representative of this issue because he is a young man who has only recently graduated from Stanford with a degree in anthropology and specializing in linguistics. He is a member of the Coquille Indian Tribe, he also has Coos and Lower Umpqua blood in him, so he is actually a member of three different tribes all located in the Coos Bay, OR, area.

When he was at Stanford he decided that for his master's thesis he would do some work using approximately 100 hours of very old tapes recorded in the early 1930's—since those were the only surviving actual recordings of any person who spoke the original Panuchian dialect that the Coquilles spoke. From that effort, he created a dictionary of the language. He is now involved in trying to create an actual audio grammar and dictionary so that he could then begin to teach other members of the tribe. The last individual who spoke this language as a native speaker died in 1953. As you may be aware, the Coquille Tribe was terminated and then after 35 years of effort, restored in 1989.

So I guess the one comment I would like to make, and that I know Mr. Anderson would like to make if he were here, is perhaps the kind of thing that he is doing is the beginning of the restoration of languages that, in this instance, are actually dead. There is no native speaker and yet he believes that, through the use of modern technology, he can actually create video and audio teaching tools and thereby allow members of his tribe to learn their language and restore a significant portion of their culture.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you advising us that members of the Coquille Tribe communicate with each other only in English?

Mr. FARLEY. That's correct, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. They carry out their rituals and cultural programs only in English?

Mr. FARLEY. That is correct, Senator. They have no native speakers; the last one died in 1953. I guess it would probably be fair to say that Mr. Anderson is kind of a unique young man. He is 25 years old and he has decided to take this on as his own personal project. I must say there are times when I have to remind him that we have other things to do. But he has really dedicated himself to this to an extraordinary degree. I guess he has three passions—his language is one, his fiancee is one, and sports is another. This is very important to him and he desperately want to be the vehicle by which his tribe could relearn their language and reestablish a significant part of their culture.

The CHAIRMAN. Although Mr. Anderson is not with us, through you I would like to thank him for his efforts. Without objection, his statement will be made part of the record.

Mr. FARLEY. Thank you, Senator.

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[Prepared statement of Mr. Anderson appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. May I now call on Superintendent Yazzie.

STATEMENT OF TOMMY C. YAZZIE, SUPERINTENDENT, LEUPPS SCHOOLS, INC., WINSLOW, AZ, ACCOMPANIED BY JOE YAZZIE, GOVERNING BOARD MEMBER, TOLANI LAKE, AZ

Mr. TOMMY YAZZIE. Good morning. [Speaking native language.] This is a Navajo greeting from the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. We bring greetings to Washington, Chairman Daniel Inouye, Senator McCain, other members of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. We are happy to be here to express our support of S. 2044. I have with me also Mr. Joe Yazzie, a school board member and community leader, who will also express briefly his comments in support of this bill.

Indian languages are the strongest bond that welds Indian societies together. Language is connected to thought and also connected to our experiences and our surroundings.

Experiences and thoughts are embedded in our complex social and cultural environment. As Navajo people, we use our language in everyday conversation. We describe visual images. We also gesture and use different kinds of facial expressions to relate to and communicate and make sense of the world we live in. It also shows in our shared patterns of behavior, our arts and crafts, institutions, our beliefs, our attitudes, and also the values that we cherish. Our traditional songs, prayers, and chants are carefully designed to communicate to the spirit world of our petition for daily subsistence, good health, and also harmonious relationships with our four-legged creatures and the human race.

The moral and ethical conduct are integrated into the religious ceremonies hoping to secure harmony through the blessings of abundant resources. We have pretty much accepted that hardship and abundance are a natural order of gifts from the spirits. It is through the observation of social, economic, natural, and religious laws that Man is accorded certain rights and responsibilities to live a life of service to the human race.

It is here that we believe, and we support the bill, that goals of private and public institutions must empower and protect the uniqueness of cultures. With a device such as S. 2044, this opportunity will be given to tribes, villages, different schools, and institutions.

Native American Indians have rich cultures. These cultures are cultures that nurture independence, freedom, and love of life. Native languages have provided a sense of identity and connectedness to the rest of the world. The purpose of life gives meaning to our existence here on Earth in our environment and with the people that we live.

Many of the Indian tribes have surrendered to the U.S. Government seal and covenants called treaties and in return we were guaranteed access to education for the future generations of our Indian children. For many years Federal and State schools practiced a policy of education that takes away the language in an attempt to assimilate Indian cultures. It is through this practice that Federal policy eradicated many tribal languages.

The very essence of self-worth and dignity lies in our language. We are responsible for transmission of education through language to the very youngest tribal members within our communities.

As we know, during the past two decades the Federal Government has adopted a policy of cultural pluralism, with the emphasis on education for cultural and linguistic preservation. We are thankful for Government measures enacted between 1967 and 1975—the Bilingual Education Act, the Indian Education Act, the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act—that provide support and money for Indian education.

The world that we live in can benefit from the Indian people's view of oneness with nature to slow the rapid depletion and wasteful destruction of our natural resources. As I listen to the testimony of my colleagues, there is a question of a need for the preservation of language through an institution of higher learning. One of my beliefs as an educational leader in the community, and I have consulted and spoken with many of our Navajo elders, is that the Indian tribes have much wisdom in terms of the resources and the environment that we have that we call Mother Earth. It is through these kinds of thoughts and ideas that we think we can share in a university setting, in a college setting, and also as a curriculum of schools.

To effectively implement the provisions of S. 2044, we have the proposition that funding should be made available to the practitioner under the concept of a community. The community being the family, and the family being the villages and the homes. This mechanism will allow the people closest to the problem, in terms of language learning, to be able to address the concerns. Community-based schools and organizations will be afforded opportunities to cultivate the Indian children's language and culture as a foundation for success in America.

We, as Navajo people and I'm sure other Indian tribes, believe that the very center of the child's development and sense of self-worth is necessary for them to learn and succeed in the schools. The goals of the schools should be to empower children, and that empowerment means to learn the language to take charge of their learning. All children must be given the opportunity to explore, to analyze, to evaluate, and to make positive choices. The native American child, or any child, lives in a special environment that is shaped by the people around him or her. This environment must be nurtured in that traditional family as an institution for survival.

Knowledge in the curricula should be generated, organized, applied, analyzed by thinking. It is important to me, as a speaker of Navajo that I assess thought through my language and that I can also translate certain ideas from Navajo to English and from English to Navajo. This requires a very complex higher order thinking to be able to do this. I believe many young Indian children have those capabilities. Learning for all Indian children must happen within the parameters of their cultural setting so that they can compare and contrast and be able to make sense of the dominant society's world and their own world.

It has long been said from our elders that learning, intellect, and thinking are of the same. The organization of knowledge in Navajo

comes from a very simple word—[speaking native language]—as a source of thinking and breathing. The exercise of intellect is what we breath daily. The exercise of our physical body and also the exercise of our mind so that we can relate to the spirituality and the matters within the four cardinal points of which we call Navajo land. To fully realize intellectual capacity, the learner must come to terms with the source of his essence—his maker, father, God—that Supreme Being that is the source of life. Truth and knowledge is truly the basis for long life and happiness, and in Navajo we call it [speaking native language].

I would like to thank you. I would also like to give a few minutes to Joe Yazzie, and I will translate for him.

[Prepared statement of Tommy Yazzie appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Yazzie Yahtéèy. Welcome.

Mr. JOE YAZZIE. [Speaking native language.]

Mr. TOMMY YAZZIE. [Translation of Joe Yazzie's remarks.] Mr. Yazzie expresses appreciation for allowing him to present his statement, Senator Inouye.

He reiterates the social problems as he sees them as a person who has really no formal education. He has witnessed over the past 40–50 years the deterioration of the family, the social fabric of Navajo life, where language was used to communicate all aspects of social, political, and economic survival.

Today, in many Navajo homes, there are many parents that cannot communicate with their children or their grandchildren. The substance and the essence of life, the wisdom of life cannot be transmitted to these young people. For many years they have been schooled, they have picked up a lot of the ideas from Western cultures and there is a dark contrast between the two. He believes that the language needs to be put back into place in many of the school curricula. He believes that Navajo elders or any Indian elders would also have the opportunity and the necessary training to be able to take with them the learning, the wisdom from their cultures.

He referred to the piece of art directly behind on the wall. He believes that such a piece as a Navajo rug is the essence of expression and also can be used to provide substance that can be used in terms of giving something to life. He believes that our language is rapidly deteriorating in terms of carrying on those traditions and those kinds of skills. He has worked with many schools where funding resources have been able to revive some of these in many communities.

He also made reference to our Senator, Mr. John McCain, that many of these kinds of concerns and petitions have been made through him. He appreciates the fact that our Senators are able to express some of these concerns and will be able to help support them.

He is a person that without any formal education has survived and was able to carry on many of the traditions. Through this, he is able to come here today and be able to share his testimony on behalf and in support of the bill S. 2044.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Yazzie, I thank you very much for your words. We will take them very seriously.

Thank you both very much.

Our last panel is made up of the following: Mike Anderson, executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, Washington, DC; and Karen Funk, legislative analyst, National Indian Education Association of Washington.

Mr. Anderson, welcome, sir.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. ANDERSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. ANDERSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of the National Congress of American Indians, of which I am the executive director, I am very pleased to be here today to convey our strong support for the enactment of S. 2044, the Native American Languages Act. I have attached with our testimony a resolution passed by the National Congress at its convention in San Francisco that endorses and supports this proposed amendment to the current law. If I might, I would just read a couple of portions of the resolution passed at our annual convention.

Whereas, the Native American Languages Act has not been funded by Congress to achieve the objectives of that legislation;

Whereas, Senator Murkowski of Alaska has introduced legislation to support Alaska Native languages; and

Whereas, Senator Inouye has called for equal support for the remaining American Indian languages of which languages are in danger of extinction;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the National Congress of American Indians:

Commends Senator Murkowski for introducing S. 1591 and supports his Alaska Native languages bill of 1991;

Commends Senator Inouye and his colleagues for the introduction of S. 2044, a bill to assist in the survival of Native American languages.

The National Congress of American Indians called for hearings on this bill as early as possible this year—which has now been granted—and we also resolved that the National Congress of American Indians call for adequate levels of funding to implement S. 2044. So we commend this committee on taking action on this matter of concern to Indian country.

If I might, I will just summarize for the record some of the statements made in our testimony. First, we might point out that the language loss, alluded to earlier, is directly attributable to the policies of termination and assimilation which are practiced by the Federal Government and forced onto Indian people. Nearly every Indian person in this room today can relate stories of their own parents or grandparents who are punished for speaking in their native language at Federal boarding schools.

I, like others, have my own stories that relate to this. Both my grandparents on both sides of my family, the Creek side and Choctaw side, were fluent in their language. My grandmother attended a Federal boarding school at Tuscahoma in Oklahoma, which is in the Choctaw area of the State, and with the forced removal of many of the Choctaws, that's where many of our Choctaws in Oklahoma remain today. She was not permitted to speak her language at boarding school. She and her friends at school often ran away from school. That fear of speaking the language in school caused her to have a real fear of teaching my mother the language because she thought she would have some of the same problems in school as well. So my parents, who also attended BIA schools,

didn't have that opportunity to learn the language from their parents and also didn't have the opportunity to learn it in school.

The native American languages today as part of our living culture means that with each death of an elder on our reservations our Indian people are further deprived of their history and also their future. Language preservation is intrinsic to the preservation of native American's distinctive way of life. We also note that educators are finding that the most successful students in school are fluent in both English and in native language.

The Indian Nations At Risk Task Force Report, which we cite in our testimony, found that schools that respect and support a student's language and culture are significantly more successful in educating those students. A recent University of Minnesota study showed that self-identity directly correlated to mental health in our youth. We need to promote cultural preservation from the community level, utilizing whatever means are appropriate and consistent with current community values. That means separate and apart from whatever this legislation might do, the communities themselves have an obligation to begin to foster this native American language development.

Finally, we also note in our testimony that President Bush and Vice President Quayle have both strongly endorsed and believe that we can remedy many of our social and economic ills through the reinforcement of strong community values and family values. NCAI basically is in support of this as a theory, but again notes that for Indian tribes and people, these community values can be reinforced and transmitted through native languages.

We ask again that Congress take swift action in the few months it has left to pass this legislation and enact it into law before you adjourn the Congress this year.

I also have some specific comments; one in the nature of a technical amendment that we would provide to the committee staff with regard to funding these programs. We suggest an amendment that would allow collaborating organizations to also participate in this program. If I might, I will just read briefly the sentence that addresses that.

> If a tribal government or other eligible applicant determines that the objectives of its proposed Native American Language program would be accomplished more effectively through a partnership with a school, college, or university, the applicant may designate such an institution as a collaborating organization. As a collaborating organization, an institution may become a co-beneficiary of a grant under this act. The matching requirements may be met by either or both the applicant and its collaborating institution.

That would permit Indian tribes to have a partnership with different universities to help offset some of the costs and resources that would be needed to implement this program.

The chairman also asked some of the witnesses whether ANA has the current authority to fund these programs. We concur with the testimony of Mr. Mastrapasqua that ANA does have the ability to fund this program through its current capacity of building of tribal governments. However, we would not agree that the funding is adequate at this time. I think the National Indian Education Association, through Ms. Funk, also has some details and statistics on the amount of grants that have been asked for by tribes under the

National Historic Preservation Act. So there is a great need for more resources in this area.

Finally, I just wanted to make a brief comment on the question you raised on the native American university. At our midyear conference in Spokane a number of members proposed this as a motion that NCAI would go on record in supporting the native American university. The feeling of the membership was that at the current time that resolution should be tabled for further study. It raises a number of issues of concern, including the effect on the tribal community colleges, the location of the institution, and also the building and impact of a pan-Indian-type of school on other community efforts. So while there are many good, positive aspects of having a national native American university, at the current time we wish to study this issue carefully through our education committees and hopefully will be able to provide some position to the Congress after our October convention here in Washington, DC.

Thank you for inviting us to testify today. I appreciate your support of this effort.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Anderson apears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Anderson.

Ms. Funk.

STATEMENT OF KAREN FUNK, LEGISLATIVE ANALYST, NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Ms. FUNK. Thank you. The National Indian Education Association is glad to be here today in strong support of your legislation and also of the amendment which you have proposed to allow educational institutions to in effect become cobeneficiaries of ANA grants for language programs.

We would also ask that report language accompanying this bill clarify that the lack of specific appropriations under this act would not prohibit ANA from considering favorably any language-related applications that have been submitted to it.

In response to ANA's testimony about the relatively small number of language specific applications that it received, it seems to me that tribal governments haven't historically viewed ANA as a source of language funding. It has been relatively recently that ANA has funded the four native American cultural centers, which is a welcome expansion of ANA horizons. But I would bet that if ANA put out an application and made it very clear that language applications were eligible, they would be overwhelmed with language applications.

This is clearly what happened to the National Park Service when in fiscal year 1990, the first year that Congress ever appropriated any money for tribal historic preservation grant programs. It was only $500,000. The Park Service is used to dealing with State historic preservation programs which basically deal with physical things—buildings and nominating buildings and sites to the National Register of Historic Places. So when they put out the first call for applications to tribal governments for the grant moneys, they were absolutely floored, and impressed in a positive way, by what they received. The first year for a $500,000 total funding they received 280 applications, of which half were for language pro-

grams or programs that had language components. In addition, many other applications dealt with establishing historic preservation plans and offices and ordinances. Most of those at some point along the way I am sure would also deal with language issues.

I talked to the Park Service office this week that administers the Tribal Historic Preservation Grant Program. They say they continue to be absolutely overwhelmed with tribal applications dealing with languages. So we certainly welcome your bill and any funding that you can put in that or any other appropriate source.

The House Interior Committee marked up its fiscal year 1993 Interior budget 2 days ago, and they recommended $2 million for the Tribal Historic Preservation Grant Program, which is double the 1992 level. That is not a lot of money, but I would guess in the context of budget constraints they would say that a 100-percent increase was quite good. So I hope that the Senate can at least concur in that or go higher.

In our testimony, and I will not reiterate them, but we do list the Indian Nations At Risk recommendations and the White House Conference on Indian Education recommendations that deal with the need for language efforts.

And finally, I would bring to your attention the experience of the Kodiak Area Native Association in Alaska, which for years has wanted an Alutiig studies and language program in the public schools. On Kodiak Island, all the schools are public schools. It never happened; the schools never implemented an Alutiig studies program. The Kodiak Area Native Association this year was the recipient of one of two Department of Education pilot project demonstration grants to institute an Alutiig studies and language program—it is an emersion language program in three high schools on Kodiak Island. Just a few weeks ago, June 2 as a matter of fact, they had the first ever Alutiig spelling bee on Kodiak Island. Attached to our testimony is information about their particular program and the spelling bee.

The next challenge now for the Aleut people on Kodiak Island, the Kodiak Area Native Association, and the school system is how to fund the program for the next year. It was a 1-year Department of Education grant. This is a situation you will see repeated over and over. You can get something started, but you also have to keep it going. Obviously, that Department of Education grant was absolutely critical to getting something started, and we're hopeful that something will be worked out to keep the Alutiig studies and language program going and also to expand it.

Thank you very much.

[Prepared statement of Ms. Funk appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much, Ms. Funk.

I would like to make one observation and announcement. Two speakers have alluded to the Federal policy of assimilation or the Federal policy of eradication of culture and language and they have done so in the past tense. I would like to suggest that the policies are still alive and doing well. In fact, it was not too long ago that the President of the United States made an announcement that he would welcome all Indians to leave their reservations and join us. That seems to be the policy of the United States and this committee is doing its best to overcome that.

And to further our effort to overcome that, I would like to announce that on July 2, this bill will be scheduled for markup, which means we will consider it and report it to the Senate.

Thank you all very much for your help.

[Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DANIEL K. AKAKA BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Aloha kakahiaka. Good morning. We're here today to receive testimony on an issue that is fundamental to the survival of our nation's native cultures - native American languages. As a native Hawaiian and cosponsor of S. 2044, this is an issue that is very important to me.

Over the past five hundred years, with the arrival of westernization, native peoples of America have fought for the survival of their cultures. They have fought and will continue to fight with federal and state governments over land and water rights, political status, religion, and the improvement of the education, health and well-

being of their families. However, nothing can be more important than the efforts by native Americans to preserve their native languages.

As one of the official languages of the State of Hawaii since 1978, efforts to preserve the Hawaiian language have made great progress at the state level. Earlier this year, the State Board of Education approved a policy which would allow public students to be taught entirely in the Hawaiian language through high school. And the University of Hawaii, which currently offers bachelor degrees in Hawaiian language and culture, is in the process of creating a master's program.

The reason I bring this up is to highlight the recognition by the State of Hawaii and its citizens that the survival of Hawaiian culture depends on the preservation of the Hawaiian language. An article written in a Hawaii newspaper entitled, "'Hawaiian Immersion' Idea May Divide Us" triggered a healthy debate on the issue of native languages last year. Contrary to the author's intention, the outcome was the approval of the two programs which I just mentioned. Efforts to offer native American language classes from kindergarten to twelfth grade, and through higher education should be advanced in all states.

The federal government must recognize the need for action and increase its efforts to assist all state and Native American governments or organizations in the perpetuation of our nation's native languages. S. 2044 is essential to the success of this effort.

In closing, I would like to cite a few lines from a recently released song written by one of Hawaii's leading song artists and Native Hawaiian leaders - Haunani Apoliona.

E mau ana ka ha'aheo, ka ha'aheo o ka nohona.
Ke ola kamaēhu o ka lāhui, o ka lāhui Hawai'i.
Ka lāhui pono'ī o nā kai, o nā kai 'ewalu.
Me nā mea 'oi loa mai nā wa mamua, e holomua kākou i keia au.
Ua hiki mai ka wana'ao no ka ho'ōla a me ka ho'āla hou.

The pride endures, the pride in our lifestyle and values.

The lifestyle that is firm in resolution and fixed in purpose.

The lifestyle that has been nurtured by Hawaiians of all islands.

Let us move forward to the future carrying with us the best from the past.

The time has arrived for the revitalizing and reawakening of our community.

STATEMENT BY

DOMINIC J. MASTRAPASQUA

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

ADMINISTRATION FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

BEFORE THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

JUNE 18, 1992

Thank you for the opportunity to testify on S. 2044, the "Native American Languages Act of 1991." Commissioner S. Timothy Wapato sends his warm greetings to the Committee and would be here this morning to testify on this legislation if it were not for a long-standing out-of-town commitment.

S. 2044 would establish a new grant program to tribes and Native American organizations to assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages. While the Administration fully supports the concept of preserving Native American languages, we do not support the establishment of a new grant program within the Administration for Native Americans (ANA). ANA already has sufficient authority to carry out the purpose of S. 2044 under the Native American Programs Act of 1974.

In addition, we have several other concerns about this bill. We object to the 10 percent grantee match as proposed in Section 2 of S. 2044. Currently, grant authorities under the Native American Programs Act require 20 percent matching by the grantee. We see no justification for reducing the matching requirement for this new grant authority. Moreover, as a general policy matter, we object to the use of other Federal dollars to satisfy the required grantee match. We recognize that this provision may have been included in order to ensure that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) funded schools are eligible for grants under this

bill. However, we believe BIA funded school eligibility should be addressed in a different manner.

The goal of the Native American Programs Act is to promote social and economic self sufficiency among Native populations. This goal is sufficiently broad to encompass the purposes of preserving native culture and language, and ANA already provides funding to eligible organizations for this purpose. In the last few years, ANA has received an increasing number of grant applications from Tribes and organizations which focus on enhancing and strengthening tribal governmental structures through cultural heritage preservation activities.

Language maintenance, and in some cases, language renewal is a critical measure of the strength of a society. In fact, three current major studies focus on the effect and impact of Native languages on the social and economic circumstances of Native Americans. These studies attribute the loss and decline of these languages as a direct contributory factor to the bleak socio-economic situation of these societies. Both the White House Conference on Indian Education and the recently completed Indian Nations at Risk Task Force strongly recommended the inclusion of native languages in the development of overall strategies designed to assist all Native Americans.

A recent University of Minnesota study concerning "the State of Native American Youth Health" states, unequivocally, that efforts

to address the many problems which face Native American youth must be built on the cultures, religions and traditions of American Indians and Alaskan Native communities. The study further states that "then and only then can we be assured that the solutions sought will be rooted in community values so critical to their success."

As one of our grantees put it, "teaching our language is important for the tenacity of the spirit. The way our life is viewed and our values expressed is through our traditional language. It is different than the European world view. Our world is described in an active alive way. Language is the bedrock upon which tradition and ritual is premised; the culture rests upon this. If a person has respect they lead a life of harmony. Our language teaches our people the right thing to do."

In response to these concerns, in 1990 President Bush signed into law the "Native American Languages Act" (Title I, Public Law 101-477). This legislation invests the United States government with the responsibility to work together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of cultures and languages unique to Native America. This law declares that it is the policy of the United States to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages."

Due at least in part to these legislative efforts, over the past several years there has been a significant cultural renaissance in Native American communities. Because of this renewed interest in the preservation of Native American languages, ANA has included among its funded activities language preservation and enhancement in its Coordinated Discretionary Program (CDP) to develop Native American Cultural Centers. Four grants were awarded for this purpose in FY 1991.

In summary, we recognize that language preservation and enhancement are important to the continuation of Native American cultures. The Administration for Native Americans will continue efforts to promote these activities throughout the Native American community. I thank you for the opportunity to testify and would be happy to answer any questions.

Testimony before the Senate Select Subcommittee on Indian Affairs in support of:

S. 2044, the Native American Languages Act of 1991,

delivered on June 18, 1992.

by Kenneth Hale

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0 Introduction.

I am grateful for the opportunity to testify in support of S. 2044, whose purpose is to contribute materially to efforts on the part of Native American communities to safeguard and develop their rich linguistic traditions. I wish to commend Senator Inouye and other members of the Committee for their vision in supporting these important efforts not only by introducing this bill but also by working for the successful passage of its 1990 precedent, S. 1781.

As a linguist who has been involved in research and education in relation to Native American languages for more than thirty-five years, I have many reasons for supporting S. 2044. In the interests of brevity, I will attempt to frame my support for the bill by organizing my comments around three points: international significance, the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity, and the opportunities which exist now in Native American communities.

1. The international significance of the Native American Languages Act of 1991.

This is a time in which endangered languages are receiving much deserved world-wide attention. The greatly accelerated loss of linguistic diversity

during the past century, in the United States and elsehwere, can be seen, correctly I think, as part of the general deterioration of the world environment. Thus, it is not an accident that work on behalf of endangered languages should proceed concurrently with work on behalf of the environment.

The imperiled condition of the majority of the world's surviving indigenous languages is the subject of an important new book-length survey, Endangered Languages (Berg Publishers Ltd., Oxford (1991)), edited by the linguists Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck, written by knowledgeable linguists from various parts of the world, and published with the support of Unesco and the authority of the Permanent International Committee of Linguists. Among other things, this book is intended as the basis for discussions at the up-coming International Congress of Linguists (Quebec City, August 9-14, 1992), where the issue of endangered languages will be a central theme throughout the meetings, being the topic of the first plenary session and six full afternoon sessions involving an international body of language scholars who will be discussing language endangerment conditions from all parts of the globe. In the same time period, the Linguistic Society of America organized a symposium with the title "Endangered Languages and their Preservation", at which Michael Krauss presented a global picture of the situation of endangered languages, as he was able to determine it at that time. In addition, several examples and proposals were given -- while the scope of the discussion was international in import, the specific examples were drawn from the Americas. The results of the symposium appeared as an extended article in the journal of the society, and they are attached to this testimony as Hale et al. (1992). The Linguistic Society of America has also formed a Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation.

These developments have their roots in many years of close observation into the situations of local languages in all parts of the world, on the part linguists and of concerned members of the affected communities. But their roots are also to be found in the many years of active work which members of local communities have undertaken in collaboration with linguists to create programs designed to promote and strengthen the position of their languages. This is an international movement of considerable importance to indigenous peoples everywhere.

It is in this context that S. 2044 has international significance. Native American communities are not alone in their concerns about language loss and endangerment. Their concerns have counterparts elsewhere in the world, wherever indigenous languages are spoken and endangered. By providing the financial means of implementing the goals defined in the Native American Languages Act of 1990, S. 2044 contributes both by example and concretely to a general and world-wide effort to ensure the survival and strength of imperiled minority and indigenous linguistic traditions.

2. The human value and importance of linguistic and cultural diversity.

The extent and precipitous course of language loss which has been observed in recent centuries, particularly since the European invasion of the Americas, belongs to a category which cannot be classified as "normal" or "to be expected". On the contrary, it is extraordinary, a result of cataclysmic events in the histories of indigenous communities. It is a part of a general process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a position which can only be described as embattled.

The loss of a language is not a small thing. It involves the loss of intellectual wealth. Even where a given language is "well documented", its loss means an irretrievable loss of intellectual wealth. This follows in part from the fact that no documentation is ever complete, for reasons which will become clear momentarily. And it follows in part from the fact that a living language is constantly in a state of change, so that "documentation of a language" is, in reality, the documentation of a stage in its development.

A language is "intellectual wealth" because it is an incredibly complex system involving a grammar, itself so complex as to be the focus of attention of thousands of scholars over the world, as well as an enormous lexicon, or dictionary, which embodies a sophisticated semantic classification of entities, actions, events, states, attributes, and other concepts. A language is also "intellectual wealth" because it is the medium used to express many of the most important products of intellectual labor, including poetry, oral and written literature, sung verse, and, in many cultures, the oral or written analysis of complex systems, such as kinship, the classification of spatial relations, or analysis of the relation of antonymy, involving the formulation of a principle which would assign all words to pairs representing opposite meanings (an easy task in simples cases like long/short, but a sophisticated task in the case of words which do not possess conventional opposites, like the verb see, for which an opposite must be coined). A large measure of the accumulated wealth of a people is mental wealth, products of mental labor, expressed in the medium of language. The loss of a language is the loss of a form of cultural wealth. And correspondingly, the promotion and strengthening of a language is the promotion and strengthening of cultural wealth.

There are, then, both scientific and humanistic reasons for the sense of alarm which many people rightly feel in the face of potential and actual

language loss, not to mention the grief often expressed by speakers of endangered languages who must witness the diminution and disappearance of the population with whom they can speak in their native languages, or the grief expressed by those who never had the opportunity to learn the Native American languages of their relatives and ancestors. For all of these reassons, the loss of a language involves a loss which is too great to be calculated by any measure we know.

In the area of scientific linguistic inquiry, virtually any area of grammar will supply an example to illustrate the point that loss of languages is a serious matter frou the point of view of the discipline which studies the most human of our capabilities. Consider a world in which the only languages left were, say, English, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Hindi, and Mandarin Chinese. Now pick some aspect of grammar, even the simplest -- e.g., the category of "number" (as in singular cat, plural cats). An adequate theory of universal grammar must tell us how this aspect of grammar is expressed in a fully general theory of human language. But in the example just cited, the seven languages listed will tell us a lot, but not all -- we know that there is more to the category of number than what these languages will show us. And this is a trivial example. More realistic examples would fare worse. The case is made even stronger by a simple observation having to do with the nature of scientific inquiry. The central questions of science, including linguistics, constantly change as new discoveries are made and new ideas are born. This means that the need to study individual languages never ceases. There is, therefore, no point at which a given language is "fully documented"; in fact, this notion simply does not make sense in linguistic science. Moreover, in my years in the field, I have never encounterd a language which failed to make a

contribution to the developing theory of universal grammar. In short, linguistic science loses when a language is lost.

Products of intellectual work expressed in linguistic form constitute some of the most cherished items of cultural wealth in Native American communities. Many of these have also gained appreciative audiences through translations of great beauty, e.g., the magnificent Navajo ceremonials now available in English, as well as in the original. The fact that translations of these works can achieve high levels of aesthetic excellence is due largely to the efforts of poets and writers, both Native American and non-Native American, who have worked to develop a sophisticated tradition of translation. It does not mean that the originals can be dispensed with. No one, so far as I know, would claim in any instance that the translation and the original are the same in any sense. They are both works of art, but they are not the same. Typically, in Native American verbal art, form and structure are intimately tied to the language. In some cases, they are inseparable -- so that a "translation" must in fact be a new creation, a contribution in its own right, separate from the original contribution which is bound to the original language. A striking example of this close relationship is to be found in the texts of O'odham (Pima and Papago) songs, where the form of verses depends upon two features of the O'odham language, one having to do with the sound system, the other with the syntax of the language. The O'odham sound system involves two levels of representation, one which reveals an archaic form in which all words end in a vowel, the other, corresponding to the modern spoken language, in which unaccented final vowels are deleted or greatly reduced. The sung version utilizes the more archaic pattern -- a mental feat, given that it is often difficult to "retrieve" the correct final vowel, silent in the spoken language. The effect of this practice is to give the song a compelling vocalic

quality which would be impossible to achieve if the ordinary spoken form were used. The syntax of spoken O'odham involves the use of an auxiliary element which functions, in part, as a sort of "syntactic pivot" of the sentence, permitting great freedom in the linear orderin of the other words of the sentence. In songs, the auxiliary element is omitted, and the word order is generally limited to that in which the verb is final. These effects could, of course, be imitated in translation. And such imitations might be of some literary worth in their own right. But the overall aesthetic effect of O'odham sung verse can never be duplicated, or replaced. Thus, the loss of O'odham would involve the irretrievable loss of a song tradition of great beauty, one which gives great pleasure to O'odham speaker who master the song tradition. Examples of this sort abound in Native America. It should be mentioned, in connection with the activity of translation, while it is possible to produce beautiful translations, they differ from the originals not only in terms of their formal structures, but also in terms of their meaning. The vocabularies of Native American languages are replete which items whose interpretations have been the topic of scholarly discussion for many years. The Navajo expression hózhǫ́, for example, has been assigned many English translations, none exactly right; in part, this is because the term embodies an entire way of approaching the human and natural environments when these are thought of as being in a state of perfection and balance. The joy which can be had in arriving at an intuitive understanding of such terms as this is a precious gift which a language has to offer to those who learn it.

The importance of S. 2044 in relation to these issues is obvious. By providing material support for programs which foster the use and development of Native American languages, the bill will contribute to their survival in many cases. And their survival is obviously good for linguistics. But more

important, it is good for the future of the many Native American intellectual traditions which are expressed in linguistic form. These include not only verse and narrative which can be termed "traditional", by virtue of long term association with religious tradition, say, but also the new and vibrant native-language poetic traditions which have arisen during the past few years in the context of summer institutes sponsored by the American Indian Languages Development Institute (see the piece by Watahomigie and Yamamoto, in Hale et al., 1992, attached to this testimony). The development of new literary traditions is precisely what is to be expected under favorable conditions, and it illustrates with full clarity the idea that the language-based intellectual traditions of a people can never be "fully documented". The traditions are alive and in constant progressive motion. And the Native American Languages Act of 1991 is a welcome instrument in the effort to ensure that these intellectual traditions will continue to grow and to flourish.

The intellectual and scientific costs of language loss are to some degree comprehensible. But the cost in strictly human terms, the personal cost of grief for language loss, can be so great as to be beyond measure. But personal and group language loss can be reversed, a fact which has been made clear not only by the well-known case of Hebrew, but also by the much more recent, and more relevant, experiences of such important institutions as the Basque Ikastolas of post-Franco Spain, and the Kohanga Reo and Punana Leo, or "language nests", of Maori and Hawaiian, respectively. Perhaps the greatest benefit of S. 2044 will be in supporting programs which promote the reacquisiton of Native American languages among people who rightfully claim them as part of their heritage.

3. The opportunities represented by Native American communities and organizations devoted to the promotion and development of local languages.

This is an excellent time to introduce S. 2044, and I share with its drafters the hope that the bill will be enacted during the 102nd Congress. The structures and personnel exist which will guarantee the productive use of the funding which will be made available through passage of this bill.

Native American communities and language scholars have been extremely active over the past decade and a half, at least, in working on behalf of their linguistic traditions, in various contexts, including bilingual education programs, language preservation and promotion projects in specific local communities, and institutes formed to provide training in linguistics for teachers in Native American communities.

In the latter category is the very important American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI), which has been responsible for the training of more than 800 teachers, creating a corps of researchers, curriculum developers, and effective practitioners in the teaching of language and culture in their own communities. The AILDI is located in the Southwest. The important international organization, Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI), is now sponsoring the first institute in Oklahoma, for education programs in that state. In my judgement this growing educational movement is one of the most exciting and promising events of our time. It has grown initially out of the needs and industry of individual local communities (cf., the Hualapai program discussed in Watahomigie and Yamamoto in Hale et al. (1992), attached), and it is building into an important force in Native American language education by creating the means for the training of teachers from an increasingly wide geographic area. This development now involves the full range of entities concerned with Native American education, the communities themselves, tribal governments, local schools and educational programs, regional and state colleges and universities, local and regional

language research centers, as well as the institutes which have come into existence in the course of the developments just described.

This process must continue. It progressive and extremely valuable in the context of the general program for strengthening the position of Native American languages. The fact that this movement is underway, constitutes one of the strongest arguments in support of S. 2044. Passage of this bill, also known as the Native American Languages Act of 1991, fits perfectly into the important agenda of Native American teachers and language scholars concerned with the future of their languages.

I feel that it is important that the structural flexibility which has developed in Native American language programs during recent years be perpetuated. In particular, its is important that the various entities (colleges, universities, language centers, etc.) which have direct experience in relevant aspects of Native American language-related research and education be considered as possible partners in programs funded under S. 2044. Thus, I support the principle expressed in the amendment framed by Mr. Arnold as follows:

> If a tribal government or other eligible applicant determines that the objectives of a native language program it is proposing would be more effectively accomplished through a partnership with a school, college, or university, such applicant may designate such institution as a collaborating organization and [the latter shall], through the applicant become a co-beneficiary of the grant awarded. Matching requirements may be met by either or both the eligible applicant and its collaborating institution.

To this I would add mention of language centers as important potential partners (see Jeanne in Hale et al., attached, for an programmatic sketch a hypothetical ideal Native American language center). The Alaska Native Language Center (ANLC) is an excellent example of an institution which has

been directly involved with Native American scholarship and education for many years, involving all of the language group of the state. Its experience in Native Language research and education is almost unrivaled in this country. The proposed amendment would cover the ANLC, presumably, since that institution is part of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. But since language centers are conceptually distinct, and might in the future be separate in fact, perhaps they should be given separate mention.

4. Concluding remarks.

An important human purpose is the fullest use of the mind in creating intellectual wealth. An enabling condition for this is linguistic and cultural diversity, since it is that condition above all others that permits the exploration of the widest range of paths of creation. A mere glance around the world tells us this. Thus, the loss of a language is a certain tragedy for the human purpose. And the loss of a language, if it can be prevented, should be prevented. The Native American Languages Act of 1991 represents an important step in the effort to safeguard endangered linguistic traditions. I strongly support it, therefore.

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ENDANGERED LANGUAGES†

On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity*

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Like most people who have done linguistic field work for thirty years or so, I have worked on languages which are now extinct, eight of them in my case, and I have studied, and continue to study, many languages which are seriously imperiled. My experience is far from unusual, and the testimony of field workers alone would amply illustrate the extent of language loss in the world of the present era.

It is reasonable, I suppose, to ask what difference it makes. On the one hand, one might say, language loss has been a reality throughout history; and on the other, the loss of a language is of no great moment either for science or for human intellectual life.

I think, personally, that these ideas are wrong and that language loss is a serious matter. Or, more accurately, it is part of a process which is itself very serious.

From what I have been able to learn, based on the model of early-modern and contemporary hunting and gathering and mobile agricultural peoples, the process of language loss throughout most of human history, i.e. the period prior to the development of large states and empires, has been attended by a period of grammatical merger in situations of multilingualism, in geographically confined areas, and among quite small communities—as, for example, in parts of Arnhem Land and Cape York Peninsula, Australia, and in the bilingual Sumu and Miskitu communities of Central America. By contrast, language loss in the modern period is of a different character, in its extent and in its implications. It is part of a much larger process of LOSS OF CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled. The process is not unrelated to the simultaneous loss of diversity in the zoological and botanical worlds. An ecological analogy is not altogether inappropriate. We understand to some extent the dangers inherent in the loss of biological diversity on this earth. It is correct

† [Editor's note: In November 1989, as an outgrowth of discussions with Colette Craig and Ken Hale, I asked them as well as LaVerne Masayesva Jeanne and Nora England to consider writing brief essays on the topic of 'responsible linguistics' for publication in *Language*. Since this theme is closely related to the topic of the 1991 LSA Endangered Languages symposium organized by Hale, other speakers at the symposium were also invited to contribute to the collection presented here—namely, Michael Krauss and Lucille Watahomigie & Akira Yamamoto. The message of these essays is urgent and vital; I urge all linguists to study them carefully. Ken Hale collected and edited the entire set of essays, and he deserves the profession's gratitude for carrying out this project.]

* I wish to express my gratitude to my co-authors for their contributions to this collection and to the field; to Marilyn Goodrich for her help in preparing the manuscript; and, especially, to the many speakers of endangered languages with whom I have worked.

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to ask, I think, whether there are also dangers inherent in the loss of linguistic diversity.

This and other aspects of language endangerment in these times are addressed in the present collection of papers which, except for England's, were delivered at a symposium entitled 'Endangered Languages and their Preservation' held on January 3, 1991, as part of the 65th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America.

It is in the nature of these essays that they are necessarily brief. We could not hope, therefore, to cover much of the ground which ultimately must be covered to advertise adequately the full range of factors that are relevant to an understanding of language loss and language maintenance. Fortunately, however, concern with these matters enjoys some currency both among linguists and among language communities, and voices are being heard with greater and greater clarity. The recent collection entitled *Patrimoine culturel: Langues en péril* appearing in *Diogène* No. 153 (1991) treats in detail many issues we are not able to deal with here, with geographic coverage including the language situations in Africa, the Soviet Union, and the United States, and with special attention to factors that have been responsible for language loss.

We have not attempted here to be truly representative either geographically or topically. Instead, we attempt to represent as forcefully as we can TWO facets of the situation of language endangerment—namely, (1) the reality of language loss and decline as a condition of the modern world and (2) the response to language imperilment on the part of various entities, e.g., above all, the communities directly affected by language loss. Our examples come from North and Central America.

MICHAEL KRAUSS was given the daunting task of preparing the first essay, a report on the realities of language loss for the world as a whole. This is our sole attempt to present a global perspective on the matter. Although, as Krauss notes, it is impossible now to be completely accurate in assessing the language situation in the world, it is clear that language extinction has reached an extraordinary level in recent times and that the outlook for an impressive percentage of the world's surviving languages is very poor.

These indications are certainly not heartening. But it is important, we feel, to counterpoise these realities with another, more encouraging reality—that of the great energy, courage, good sense, and optimism which many endangered language communities and allied support organizations are bringing to the formidable challenge of ensuring in this era a position of strength and dignity for their linguistic and cultural wealth.

We formulate this aspect of the situation in terms of responses, or reactions, to language endangerment, and our examples range from local, or community, responses to responses on the part of governments and institutions. In relation to these responses and reactions, the relevance of linguistics and of linguists is brought out in the various essays.

A local response to perceived language endangerment is exemplified here in the essay by LUCILLE WATAHOMIGIE and AKIRA YAMAMOTO, which describes the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program, of Peach Springs, Arizona, recognized as one of the very best in the country. The essay goes on to

describe the manner in which this local community program played a central role in the development of regional and national movements affecting Native American languages and their speakers—specifically, the creation of the American Indian Languages Development Institute and the formulation and passage of the Native American Languages Act.

It happens occasionally that a responsible government, responding to the legitimate demands of its indigenous and ethnic populations, accepts as a proper part of its program the establishment of instruments and institutions designed to promote the development and use of the local languages under its authority. The essay by COLETTE CRAIG discusses the Rama Language Project in the context of the Autonomy Project incorporated into the Nicaraguan constitution by the Sandinista government of the last decade. While constitutional measures do not, in and of themselves, safeguard the linguistic heritage of a local community, the Nicaraguan example shows that such measures foster an enabling environment for progressive language maintenance programs—even in time of war.

In the United States there are no institutions in which speakers of Native American languages, on the basis of authoritative knowledge of those languages alone, can obtain secure tenured positions which would enable them to pursue life-long careers studying and teaching their native languages. LAVERNE MASAYESVA JEANNE describes an institution which, among other things, would serve the important function of providing such positions. This is at the stage of discussion at this time, but it represents the dream of a large number of Native American scholars. Its realization, perhaps on the model of the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín in Guatemala, will play a crucial role in the future of Native American linguistics. The same can be said, of course, for other parts of the world where indigenous languages are spoken.

Guatemala presents one of the world's very best examples of the productive involvement of linguistics and linguists in helping to define the processes that form a strong and vital tradition of linguistic research and language development. The essential feature of Mayan linguistics in Guatemala is the fact that Mayan speakers themselves are defining and forming Mayan linguistics in that country, a fact which may not yet have made itself felt as fully as it surely will in the course of time. The essay by NORA ENGLAND describes the extent to which Mayan linguistics in Guatemala directly confronts notions that professional linguists have traditionally held to be beyond question. The lessons of Guatemala imply certain obligations, which England attempts to articulate from the vantage point of her many years in Mayan linguistics.

In the final essay, I present an example of the kind of material that we can expect to lose with the loss of a language. I have chosen an example involving language and the expression of intellectual life, to emphasize the fact that the loss of a language is part of the more general loss being suffered by the world, the loss of diversity in all things.

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The world's languages in crisis

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The Eyak language of Alaska now has two aged speakers; Mandan has 6, Osage 5, Abenaki-Penobscot 20, and Iowa has 5 fluent speakers. According to counts in 1977, already 13 years ago, Coeur d'Alene had fewer than 20, Tuscarora fewer than 30, Menomini fewer than 50, Yokuts fewer than 10. On and on this sad litany goes, and by no means only for Native North America. Sirenikski Eskimo has two speakers, Ainu is perhaps extinct. Ubykh, the Northwest Caucasian language with the most consonants, 80-some, is nearly extinct, with perhaps only one remaining speaker. Here we might be accused of jumping the gun, prematurely announcing the extinction of a language, since—as I heard somewhere—two or three more speakers of Ubykh had reportedly been found.[1] But what difference does it make in human history that a language became extinct in 1999 instead of 1989? What difference does it make if the youngest speaker is 90 or in fact 9? Only 81 years in the date of the inevitable extinction of the language, a mere moment in human history—though a crucial moment for linguists today, as we shall see.

Language endangerment is significantly comparable to—and related to—endangerment of biological species in the natural world. The term itself is presumably drawn from biological usage. For language we need our own definition of terms. Languages no longer being learned as mother-tongue by children are beyond mere endangerment, for, unless the course is somehow dramatically reversed, they are already doomed to extinction, like species lacking reproductive capacity. Such languages I shall define as 'moribund'. (There is an important difference here from biological extinction, because under certain conditions language is potentially revivable, as shown by the case of Hebrew.) In assessing the modern situation of language endangerment, let us set aside the languages already known to have become extinct—that is yet another issue, which we shall not get into. The question for us here is this: how many languages still spoken today are no longer being learned by children? This is a key question, as such languages are no longer viable, and can be defined as moribund, thus to become extinct during the century nearly upon us.

Statistics on language viability are very hard to come by. This is partly because in some parts of the world we hardly know what languages are spoken, let alone how viable each is, and partly, perhaps even more, because governments generally favor one language over another and have reason not to provide figures for nonfavored languages. Or, if they do so at all, for various reasons

[1] Except for the case of Eyak, which I can personally confirm, many of the statistics, large and small, in this article are but reports or estimates. I trust it will be obvious that any imprecision in the present figures should in no way detract from the basic point of their shocking significance. For North America and the Soviet North the figures for numbers of speakers come mainly from colleagues. For the numbers of languages and their speakers for the world generally, by far the best single source available that I am aware of is the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1988), to which this paper refers below.

they may provide inaccurate or distorted figures. For some viability statistics I shall begin in the areas most familiar to me personally. In Alaska now only 2 of the 20 Native languages—Central Yupik Eskimo and Siberian Yupik Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island—are still being learned by children. For the languages of the small Soviet northern minorities it is much the same: only 3 of about 30 are generally being learned by children. Thus in Alaska and the Soviet North together, about 45 of the 50 indigenous languages, 90%, are moribund. For the whole USA and Canada together, a similar count is only a little less alarming: of 187 languages, I calculate that 149 are no longer being learned by children: that is, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund. These North American numbers are relatively well known to us.[2] The situation in Central and South America, though less well known, is apparently much better. It would seem, so far, that only about 50 of 300, or 17%, of Meso-American indigenous languages (including Mexico) and 110 of 400, or 27%, of South American languages are likely to be moribund. So for all the Americas the total is 300 of 900, or one third.

For the rest of the world, the worst continent by far is Australia, with 90% of 250[3] aboriginal languages that are still spoken now moribund, most of those VERY near extinction. It would seem that English-language dominance in the 'English-speaking world' has achieved and continues to achieve the highest documented rate of destruction, approaching now 90%. In comparison, Russian domination has reached 90% only among the small peoples of the North; in the Russian Republic itself, 45 of 65 indigenous languages, or 70%, are moribund, while for the entire USSR the total is more like 50%.

For the world as a whole it is, as implied above, much easier to estimate the number of languages still spoken than to estimate the number of those still spoken by children. Voegelin & Voegelin (1977) were able to list 4,500 languages (living and dead), Ruhlen 1987 estimates 5,000 living languages for the world, while the Grimeses in 1988 list 6,000 and now have 6,500, a difference partly in language-vs.-dialect definition. Most linguists I have consulted who have contemplated this question on a worldwide scale have agreed that 6,000 is not an unreasonable round estimate, and that will do nicely as a base figure for our purposes.

The distribution, though, is very uneven. All the Americas together have only 900, as noted, or 15%. Europe and the Middle East together have only 275, or 4%. The other 81% of the world's languages are in Africa (1,900) and in Asia and the Pacific (3,000). For figures from which we may derive some sense of their viability, we are again most indebted to the Grimeses, who pro-

[2] Note, however, that 187 languages comprise only a very small proportion of the world's languages, about 3%. For this and much of the following I am most indebted to Barbara and Joseph Grimes and their *Ethnologue* (1988), together with some late 1990 updates (personal communication). This work provides by far the most detailed worldwide survey of languages yet available, and it is also a project continuously being updated. In keeping with the estimated nature of statistics, I have generally rounded the Grimeses' figures.

[3] The Grimeses' updated figures now include over 100 more very nearly extinct Australian languages listed in Wurm & Hattori 1981 but not in the 1988 *Ethnologue*.

vide relevant information largely in terms of Bible translation. Altogether for a total of about 50% of the world's languages, they specify that Bible translation work has already been done, is ongoing, or is needed, implying for at least most of these sufficient viability to warrant the work. For the rest, the condition of about 40% is inadequately known, and 10% are classed as 'nearly extinct' or 'highly bilingual', not warranting translation work. Allowing that a good majority of the unknown 40% may still be viable, the Grimeses themselves might agree that as many as 20% of the world's languages are already moribund. However, two other linguists with wide experience have both independently guessed, along with me, that the total may be more like 50%,[4] or at least that the number of languages which, at the rate things are going, will become extinct during the coming century is 3,000 of 6,000.

For us to guess whether the mortality is already more like 50% or more like 20%, it will help to consider the conditions under which these languages now exist, by country. The nine countries which each have over 200 languages account for 3,500 of the 6,000. The big two are Papua New Guinea with 850 and Indonesia with 670; then Nigeria with 410 and India with 380; then Cameroon (270), Australia (250), Mexico (240), Zaire (210), and Brazil (210). Another 13 countries have 160 to 100 languages each. In roughly descending order they are Philippines, USSR, USA, Malaysia, PRC, Sudan, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Chad, New Hebrides, Central African Republic, Burma, and Nepal. These top 22, including overlap, may account for 5,000 languages. The circumstances that have led to the present language mortality known to us range from outright genocide, social or economic or habitat destruction, displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation or assimilatory education, to electronic media bombardment, especially television, an incalculably lethal new weapon (which I have called 'cultural nerve gas'). And if we consider what has gone on and is now going on in the 22 countries just alluded to, we can more readily predict how many languages will die during the coming century. We need only think of present conditions in Indonesia (e.g. Timor, 20 languages), Brazil, Chad, Ethiopia—to mention only those I've heard a little something about—to draw a grimly pessimistic conclusion about the number of languages which soon will be counted among those no longer learned by children, if they are not already in that state of decline.

'Soon will be ...': this brings us to the subject of those languages which, though now still being learned by children, will—if the present conditions continue—cease to be learned by children during the coming century. These are the languages that I term merely 'endangered', in a sense similar to the biological. The number of these is even more difficult to calculate, of course. Let us instead take the approach of calculating the number of languages that are neither 'moribund' nor 'endangered', but belong to a third category, which I shall term 'safe'.

[4] Ken Hale wishes to point out that the figures attributed to him in *Time* magazine, September 23, 1991, are from Mike Krauss's presentation in the LSA Endangered Languages symposium of January, 1991.

For this third category we may identify two obvious positive factors: official state support and very large numbers of speakers. The first does not presently account for much, as there are, as of 1990, only about 170 sovereign states, and the, or an, official language of the majority of these is English (45 cases), French (30), Spanish or Arabic (20 each), or Portuguese (6), leaving only about 50 others. The total could be raised to something over 100 by including regional official languages of the USSR or India, for example. Considering now sheer numbers of speakers, there are 200 to 250 languages spoken by a million or more, but these of course greatly overlap with those of the official languages category. By including languages with down to half a million we might raise the total by 50, and by going down to 100,000 as a safety-in-numbers limit, we might perhaps double the total to 600 'safe' languages. Remember, though, the case of Breton, with perhaps a million speakers in living memory but now with very few children speakers, or Navajo, with well over 100,000 speakers a generation ago but now also with an uncertain future. Moreover, the recent decline of both of these has taken place under steady pressure, but not under genocidal or cataclysmic conditions. If this can happen in Europe and North America, then in Indonesia or Brazil or Africa—with urbanization, deforestation, desertification, and AIDS, to mention only a few newer trends on top of those already mentioned—will conditions be BETTER for minority language survival? Bear in mind, moreover, that the MEDIAN number of speakers for the languages of the world is nowhere near 100,000, but rather 5,000 or 6,000. Therefore, I consider it a plausible calculation that—at the rate things are going—the coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages. What are we linguists doing to prepare for this or to prevent this catastrophic destruction of the linguistic world?

Now let us compare the biological world situation. For this we have nicely comparable numbers, also well known. The most endangered category is mammals. Of 4,400 mammal species, 326 are currently on the 'endangered' plus 'threatened' list—'endangered' being 'species that are in imminent danger of extinction' and 'threatened' being 'species that in the foreseeable future will be in imminent danger of extinction'. The next most endangered category and also the most visible to us is birds, with 231 of 8,600 species endangered or threatened. Thus 7.4% of mammals and 2.7% of birds are endangered or threatened. I should add that in both cases the majority are only 'threatened' and not 'endangered'. Interestingly, however, for political and economic reasons it is difficult to get an animal officially listed, and Alaskan biologists I've talked to concur that in view of this underlisting, especially for birds, the total of endangered or threatened mammals may be 19%, and birds 5%.

Why is there so much more concern over this relatively mild* threat to the

* As this goes to press, I note the article 'World of the Living Dead' (*Natural history* 9.91: 30, 32–37) by the biologist Jared Diamond, who takes the Javanese bird situation as an example to illustrate his view, held by many biologists, that 'half of the world's species will be extinct or on the verge of extinction by the end of the next century.' Thus the enormity of the impending biological catastrophe may come much closer to matching that of the linguistic catastrophe than one might believe from the official endangered species listings.

world's biological diversity than over the far worse threat to its linguistic diversity, and why are we linguists so much quieter about it than biologists? For the animals we have, at the international level, the UN's International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the private World Wildlife Fund, and about 40 others. Nationally we have federal agencies such as the US Fish and Wildlife Service, the National Park Service, US Forest Service, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Bureau of Land Management, all of which have responsibilities for the protection of wildlife. And privately we have organizations such as the National Wildlife Federation, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Greenpeace, and at least 300 more, engaged in education, publicity, research, lobbying, and monitoring, and in activism for the survival of animal species. What do we have for languages?

Surely, just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world, so does the extinction of any language. Surely we linguists know, and the general public can sense, that any language is a supreme achievement of a uniquely human collective genius, as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism. Should we mourn the loss of Eyak or Ubykh any less than the loss of the panda or California condor?

Seeing the present situation, I think that, at the very least, it behooves us as scientists and as human beings to work responsibly both for the future of our science and for the future of our languages, not so much for reward according to the fashion of the day, but for the sake of posterity. What we need to do now stares us in the face. If we do not act, we should be cursed by future generations for Neronically fiddling while Rome burned.

We must obtain adequate information on the condition of the languages of the world, better than we have now, and use it to plan priorities for linguistic work in a rational and coordinated way. SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics/ Wycliffe Bible Translators), which has come closest to doing this, still has insufficient information even for its own purposes in 40% of the languages, as noted.

Obviously, for scientific purposes, it is most urgent to document languages before they disappear. The urgency increases with the proximity to extinction. And, within that framework, the more isolated a given language is genetically or typologically, the more urgent is the need for its documentation. By documentation I mean grammar, lexicon, and corpus of texts. This is a tradition well proven in the history of linguistics. To this we can now add documentation on audio- and videotape. There must also be a network of repositories and centers for safeguarding and using this documentation, of which our Alaska Native Language Center is an example.

This work is potentially of equal or even greater importance for social purposes; not only is the documentation valuable for science, but it is also a national treasure for the people whose languages are thus preserved. The very existence of a book on a shelf or an archive of manuscripts can be of crucial symbolic value. Moreover, without such documentation the language must irrevocably disappear into oblivion, and very likely so also the national identity in the long run. With such documentation, however, it remains always possible

to maintain or establish a limited crucial role for the language institutionalized within the society, e.g. in schools or ceremonial life. From that position, even after the last native speaker has died, it is possible—as shown by the case of Hebrew and perhaps others, such as Cornish—for that limited role to expand back to first-language use, where the will of the people is strong enough. For this purpose, adequate documentation is most certainly feasible.

For those 'unsafe' languages still being learned by children—i.e. those merely 'endangered'—there is an equal need for us to support and promote their survival. Here again, similar criteria would apply: the smaller the number, or especially proportion, of speakers, and/or the more adverse the conditions, the more such involvement is needed. We should not only be documenting these languages, but also working educationally, culturally, and politically to increase their chances of survival. This means working with members of the relevant communities to help produce pedagogical materials and literature and to promote language development in the necessary domains, including television. And it involves working with communities, agencies, and, where possible, governments for supportive language planning. Where necessary, and this may be most often the case, we must learn from biologists and conservationists the techniques of organization, monitoring and lobbying, publicity, and activism. This we must do on local, regional, national, and international scales.

Who is going to do all this work, and what is the role of linguistics in it? Nowadays, SIL is doing more than any other group in relation to endangered languages. Their current capacity is 850 languages, cumulatively so far 1,200—within their own agenda. Besides SIL we have a few regional centers, such as our Alaskan one; education programs dedicated to specific languages, such as the Hualapai and Rama projects described elsewhere in this collection; for Native American languages, national organizations with educational or scientific purposes, such as NALI (Native American Language Institute) or SSILA (Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas); and, at the level of discussion, centers for speakers of Native American languages, also described in this collection.[8] Internationally we have the Permanent International Committee of Linguists and UNESCO; significantly, language endangerment has been chosen by that Committee as a main theme for the next International Congress, Quebec 1992. So a movement is finally taking shape within linguistics itself, but only a beginning.

Let me conclude by asking what the role of professional linguistics will be in relation to these issues. Universities and professional societies have crucial

[8] As this goes to press, in addition to the political support of the federal Native American Languages Act of 1990 (described below by Watahomigie & Yamamoto), new federal legislation is proceeding that is to include appropriations: S. 1595, the Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991, introduced by Senator Murkowski of Alaska in July, 'to preserve and enhance the ability of Alaska Natives to speak and understand their native languages', passed by the Senate in November; and S. 2044, the Native American Languages Act of 1991, 'to assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages', introduced by Senator Inouye of Hawaii in November.

influence in determining research and educational priorities. To what extent are endangered languages a priority in modern linguistics? Which languages of the world receive the most attention? Are graduate students encouraged to document moribund or endangered languages for their dissertations? How much encouragement is there to compile a dictionary of one? How many academic departments encourage applied linguistics in communities for the support of endangered languages? How many departments provide appropriate training for speakers of these languages who are most ideally suited to do the most needed work? Obviously we must do some serious rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated.

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Local reactions to perceived language decline*

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1. INTRODUCTION. In schools, from kindergarten through high school, the language of instruction was English. When students who had been taught in English left school, they were speaking English. When they married, they spoke English to their children. 'Indians' no longer spoke their native languages as their primary means of communication.

This was the perceived state of affairs in relation to the Hualapai language in the mid 1970s. Many members of the community thought that English was taking over their ancestral language and that their traditions were about to disappear. In response to this threat of rapid language decline, a long and tedious process of forming a community language team began, with the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Program as its central force.

This essay will deal in part with the language maintenance efforts of the Hualapai group. However, programs of this sort succeed or fail not only because of processes that develop and function within a local community but also because of structures and processes that develop in the larger environment. Thus, we will also discuss two initiatives which are of regional and national significance in relation to the situation of endangered local languages. These are (1) the American Indian Languages Development Institute and (2) the Native American Languages Act, Public Law 101-477.

* We wish to thank all the members of the Hualapai Language Team for their enthusiasm in discussing the content of this paper when we were preparing a draft. We also benefitted a great deal from our work with generations of the AILDI participants, especially with Ofelia Zepeda and Teresa McCarty, Co-Directors of the recent AILDIs at the University of Arizona. We also want to acknowledge the constant support and encouragement from the linguistics community, especially Ken Hale and Margaret Langdon. Without this support, our work with Native American communities would not have reached such a healthy state.

2. The Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Program. When Yamamoto began his research on Hualapai, he had the good fortune to meet a resourceful and enthusiastic Hualapai speaker, the late Jane Honga, in her 60s at the time. The two worked together during the summers of 1973 and 1974 to produce several bilingual booklets for children. Mrs. Honga's grandchildren were surprised to find that Hualapai could be written—written into books—and they were even more surprised that they could read them and make sense out of them by sounding out the written words. They read these booklets to their parents. Their father, Earl Havatone, was the principal of the Peach Springs Elementary School and became excited about written Hualapai. And in 1975 Watahomigie, then the only certified Hualapai teacher, was appointed as the Director of the first Hualapai Bilingual and Bicultural Education program. Havatone, Watahomigie, and the Hualapai tribal council and elders all agreed that it was important to implement some form of Hualapai language and culture maintenance program in the school.

There were many obstacles to the development of a Hualapai language program, among them the belief on the part of many people, teachers included, that the language was incapable of expressing abstract ideas and, therefore, inappropriate for use in the school. Watahomigie and Yamamoto took this as a challenge and set about demonstrating to everyone that Hualapai is a language as complex and prestigious as English and as effective a means of communication as English, and that Hualapai is often more perfectly suited to the Hualapai context, just as English is often more appropriate in non-Hualapai contexts.

In 1981, after six years of practice and the achievement of many positive results, the School Board adopted the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Curriculum as the official core curriculum of the district. The Board also mandated that all educational development be structured according to the linguistic and cultural needs of the students. This mandate responds to the continued sense of urgency in relation to Hualapai language maintenance. Their concern was justified in 1982 when 59 home visits were made in order to interview the parents of 157 students of the school. It was found that 92% of the students came from homes where Hualapai was the primary language of communication. But it was clear from the interviews that, while Hualapai was the predominant language of the community, children were speaking primarily English at school and at home, even though adult family members were speaking primarily Hualapai.

The Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Program has succeeded, we believe, in reestablishing pride in Hualapai language and culture among children and adults in the community, in encouraging the active use of Hualapai and English at school and at home, in developing a body of knowledge about the language and culture, and in developing skills in teaching these materials. The program has also had a very positive influence beyond the Hualapai community itself by making it known to other Indian communities that bilingual/bicultural education programs work for Indian children.

The success of the Hualapai program has come in large measure from its commitment to a collaborative model in its everyday work—in planning, in

implementation, in evaluation, and then back again to planning, implementation, and so on. Cooperation and collaboration are total, involving bilingual staff, teachers, school administrators, parents, community leaders, district school officials, government officials, and academic professionals (see Brandt 1988 for a fuller discussion of the collaborative model).

This approach precludes the possibility of specialists coming in from the outside to 'do the work for the community'. What the Hualapai program encourages is COLLABORATIVE research. This entails that no one person does the work for any other person or group; rather, members of a collaborative team do the work with other team members. In the domain of research, the principles of the collaborative model go beyond any specific research project. The goal of collaborative research is not only to engage in a team project but also, and perhaps more importantly, to provide opportunities for local people to become researchers themselves. As Watahomigie & Yamamoto state (1987:79), 'It is vitally important that anthropologists and anthropological linguists undertake the responsibility of training native researchers and work with them to develop collaborative language and cultural revitalization and/or maintenance programs.'

The logic of the collaborative model that evolved in the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Program had clear educational implications. It became evident to the director at an early point that development of an effective bilingual staff would require resources that did not exist in the community itself. In fact, it would require the CREATION of a regional education resource which could meet the training needs of developing bilingual programs of the area.

In 1977 Watahomigie and a Yuman linguist, Leanne Hinton, with the help of the late John Rouillard, then the chairman of the Indian Studies Department at San Diego State University, obtained a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a three-year Yuman languages institute for Yuman language speakers. And in the following year the first summer training program under this grant was held, entitled the 'American Indian Languages Development Institute' (AILDI). This began a tradition of summer training programs, effectively extending the collaborative principles of the Hualapai program to a much larger region, initially to the other Yuman communities and eventually to an area containing dozens of communities in which American Indian languages are used.

3. THE AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE. The AILDI has held a basic view toward language and culture teaching. Language is not taught as mere word lists and grammatical drills. And native literature is not fully appreciated by pupils if it is presented in translation. Language and literature can be taught most effectively by teachers who are native speakers of the language and are trained to teach in elementary and secondary schools with language materials and literature produced by native speakers of the language.

This view of language and literature has become a strong motivating force for education among American Indian communities. They see formal education

not only as a way to lead into the mainstream culture but also as a way to maintain contact with community values and traditions, i.e. as the best way to learn the best of two cultures. This conviction is encouraged by abundant evidence showing that the positive self-image that children gain from knowing the value of their local history, language, and life-style is extremely important to their future success as individuals, whether or not they choose to continue to remain and identify with their respective communities as adults (cf. Watahomigie & Yamamoto 1987).

The overall goal of the Institute has been to turn linguistic knowledge into curriculum. The Institute aims at achieving two broad objectives: to train native-speaking teachers and parents in linguistics and curriculum development so that they develop curriculum and teaching materials for their schools and classrooms, and to train academic professionals, such as linguists, so that they may engage in mutually beneficial research and teaching activities in American Indian communities.

There were twelve Institutes during the period extending from 1978 through 1991. A total of 832 teachers (including English and local-language teachers) and parents have been prepared to become researchers, curriculum specialists, materials developers, and, in general, effective practitioners in the teaching of language and culture in their own communities. Many of the participants were able to attend an average of two Institutes. The aim was always to select capable and dedicated teachers and community resource persons and to provide them with further skills and knowledge so that they could, in turn, train other teachers and local people. The need for regional collaboration in the training of personnel in American Indian bilingual and bicultural programs is evident not only from the response to the Institute but from available statistics, including the fact that Arizona alone has 18,106 families in which an American Indian language is spoken. This figure positively dwarfs the total number of families whose members have so far had the opportunity to participate in education programs involving their native languages.

In response to new community needs, several schools and colleges of education include a native language or multicultural component in their elementary and secondary teacher training programs. Unfortunately, however, such higher-education opportunities have not been utilized extensively by the American Indian population. Typically, American Indian people who might wish to receive educational training have families, and many have existing school-related or other political, economic, or ceremonial responsibilities in the home community, making it extremely difficult for them to enroll in a full-time program of study (see Hale 1972). Because of this, many individuals attend summer schools or short-term workshops over a period of many years. These courses and workshops are characteristically not well sequenced and do not provide them with professional-quality training. Thus, new programs which can offer systematic training for such individuals, training designed to meet their particular needs as well as the needs of the home community, are an urgent priority. The American Indian Languages Development Institute was designed to meet

just such needs, and it has continued to provide American Indian and non-Indian teachers, administrators, and parents with relevant and systematic training.

AILDI is based in the Southwest. There is also an international organization, the Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI), of closely similar philosophy and purpose, which will begin shortly to sponsor summer institutes in Oklahoma for 35 (Indian-English) bilingual education programs in that state.

During its first thirteen years of existence, the American Indian Languages Development Institute covered in its programs a wide range of linguistic and cultural issues which have been integrated into school curricula and materials. Linguistic topics have included phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, comparative and historical linguistics, lexicography, oral and written literature, sociolinguistics, and language acquisition. These topics have been integrated into content areas so that they become part of culturally relevant educational processes. The AILDI staff believes that it is especially important to give participants an appreciation of the interplay between universality and diversity in language and culture. This is of crucial importance in understanding that any given group of people is part of the human community and, at the same time, forms a unique group contributing to human diversity. The most effective way of driving these notions of universality and diversity home is to study the languages themselves and to learn how people use them.

During the past decade, in conformity with the general theme of collaboration, the AILDI staff and participants have evolved a philosophy regarding the nature of language and the requirements that an effective bilingual/bicultural education program must meet.

At every Institute, participants engage in discussions and in hands-on experience so that they become keenly aware of the nature of language. The concept of 'completeness' figures prominently in AILDI thinking about language:

> We need to think of language not merely as an academic subject, but as a central and driving force for children's total development.
>
> Thus
>
> Language is not 'complete' if it is not used by people in their everyday life.
>
> It is not complete if it is not used for communication among people.
>
> It is not complete if it does not allow us to be creative and imaginative.
>
> It is not complete if it is not a means to explore the environment and world around us, and learn who we are and who we are not.
>
> It is not complete if it does not help us satisfy our physical, psychological and social needs.
>
> It is not complete if it does not assist us in changing behaviors and thinking of ourselves and others.
>
> It is not complete if it does not provide us with a means to carry out interactions and to establish and maintain relationships with other people.
>
> Thus, we must emphasize how we use our language if that language is to be useful. We, therefore, do not teach language just as an academic subject, we teach language as part of our total existence and as a basis for meaningful existence.

And the AILDI position on the requirements for effective teaching in bilingual/bicultural programs includes the following:

In order for us to be able to teach language in this manner, we need to keep in mind at least the following:

1 We cannot teach language simply because we are speakers of that language. We must know what our language is like—its structure and functions in our everyday existence.

2 Even when we know these things about our language, we cannot teach it effectively. We need to know how our language may be acquired by our children. If we know the process, we have a better framework with which we can develop curriculum and teaching materials.

3 We need to know what a curriculum should include, in what sequence, and how much.

The AILDI model has two integral parts, linguistic and educational. Within the linguistic component, the major goals are to enable the students to (1) look at their language objectively, (2) identify what aspects of language must be focused on in teaching, (3) prepare a well-organized data base for each of these aspects, and (4) use these aspects of language as inputs for the next phase of the work, namely the development of curriculum, the creation of teaching materials, and the incorporation of the language curriculum into the total school curriculum. This means that language is not learned and acquired through teaching a word list, by teaching how to say numbers in native languages, or by teaching how to name colors. It means that language is taught as an integral part of students' total development.

The relationship between local bilingual/bicultural education programs and organizations like AILDI represents one of the mechanisms that permits the collaborative principle to operate in an expanded domain. And the relation between the American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI) and the international Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI) extends the principle further, to the nation and to the western hemisphere. In the following section we describe a project which was initiated in a joint AILDI/NALI conference and which is a political initiative of great potential importance to the endangered languages of this country.

4. The Native American Languages Act: Public Law 101-477. In June of 1988 the International Conference of the NALI was held in Tempe, Arizona, having been planned in such a way that the participants of the AILDI could be involved. In the course of the conference all Indian and non-Indian participants, including Hawaiian representatives, worked together to formulate resolutions concerning Native American languages and cultures. The resolutions approved by the conference were sent to a number of policy makers, and many native American tribal and governmental bodies also made their support of the resolutions clear to appropriate policy makers.

In September, a copy of the resolutions was sent to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, chaired by Senator Inouye, who, in the same month, formed the resolutions into a bill which he introduced as Joint Resolution 379. This was then referred to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

During the following several months and through the next year, as revisions were being made in the resolution, with NALI and AILDI input, various academic organizations were contacted and asked to consider similar resolutions in their business meetings. These included the Linguistic Society of America,

the Modern Language Association, the American Anthropological Association, and the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas.

In April of 1990, the Senate passed bill S. 1781, embodying the resolutions on Native American languages. The House incorporated this in amendment S. 2167 to H R. 5040, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act. In October, the bill was passed by the Senate and the House, and it was signed by President Bush. The legislation is known as Public Law 101-477 Title I—Native American Languages Act.

The enactment of this legislation expressing the principle of Native American linguistic rights was the product of a collaborative effort involving ultimately a wide range of people, including students, parents, and other community people, educators, administrators, linguists, anthropologists, state officials, senators and representatives, tribal elders, and tribal government personnel. It was a collaborative effort with local, regional, and national implications.

The language of the bill expresses many of the central concerns of educators and linguists who are involved with communities that use one or more Native American languages:

> 'It is the policy of the United States to—
>
> (1) preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages; ...
>
> (3) encourage and support the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction in order to encourage and support—
>
> (A) Native American language survival,
>
> (B) educational opportunity,
>
> (C) increased student success and performance,
>
> (D) increased student awareness and knowledge of their culture and history, and
>
> (E) increased student and community pride;
>
> (4) encourage State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educators, Indian tribes, and other Native American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect;
>
> (5) recognize the right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior,
>
> (7) support the granting of comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a Native American language the same academic credit as comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a foreign language ...'

The bill also states that 'Nothing in this title shall be construed as precluding the use of Federal funds to teach English to Native Americans'.

5. Conclusion. The development of bilingual/bicultural programs in the Southwest and the ancillary growth there of summer workshops and institutes have had a number of effects that are important for all of us who are concerned about the future of local languages. One is to provide an example of coöperation and collaboration, an example for all to see of what can be done to ensure that the intellectual wealth of local communities can achieve a position of dignity in education and other aspects of life. Another effect, in some areas at least, is to bring local language literacy to people who have never before experienced it, to enable people to express themselves in the written form of their own

languages, even if only to give voice to feelings of mild despair (from Watahomigie & Yamamoto 1983):

Danyu d'u k
qe'hdik
danyu d'u k
nyadu:yk
danyu d'u k
ha nyadu yk
danyu d'u k
gwadya ya mo

Going to school
when i was little
i attended school
when older
i attended school
when i become an old man
i may be still attending school

—Philbert Watahomigie, Sr. (Hualapai)

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A constitutional response to language endangerment: The case of Nicaragua*

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1. INTRODUCTION. The scene is Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, the eastern half of this Central American country. It is a multilingual region where, besides Spanish, English Creole and various indigenous languages are spoken by populations of speakers ranging from tens of thousands of Miskitu (Misumalpan) to thousands of Sumu (Misumalpan) to barely two dozen Rama (Chibchan) and a mere handful of Garifuna (Arawakan).

The time is the decade of the 1980s and of the Sandinista Revolution, during which the legal, educational, and social status of these coastal languages changed through the process of establishing an autonomy statute for the region, a development that is sometimes referred to as the second Sandinista Revo-

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lution. This Autonomy project was a response to the war situation that developed on the Atlantic Coast, as both indigenous and Creole people rejected the Sandinista Revolution in its original form.

From the start, linguistic matters were at the forefront of the confrontation. Local populations opposed the massive Spanish literacy campaign of the new revolutionary government and were granted the right to a literacy campaign in their own languages. Local demands were then extended to issues of bilingual education and to the official recognition of the languages of the Coast. Thus, concerns of language and culture preservation were central to the agenda of the Autonomy project and were raised with all the communities of the Coast as grassroots consultation about autonomy proceeded.

The Autonomy Statute, which ultimately became part of the National Constitution of Nicaragua in 1987, asserts that one of the functions of the Autonomous government is 'to promote national culture, as well as the study, preservation, promotion, development, and dissemination of the different cultures and traditions of the Atlantic Coast's communities, including their historical, artistic, linguistic and cultural heritage' (chapter I, article 8.4). For the largely Mestizo Spanish-speaking population of the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua, the Autonomy Statute meant the recognition of the multi-ethnic and multilingual nature of the 10% of the Nicaraguan population that lives in the Atlantic Coast region. For the people of the Atlantic Coast, it sanctioned linguistic rights, a reality several years in the making.

As a result of the Autonomy process, several language-planning projects were implemented, each commensurate with the degree of language endangerment. These projects have included basic linguistic documentation and research, development of bilingual education programs, the translation of official documents, and the production of a body of native written materials. U.S.-trained professional linguists calling themselves 'Linguists for Nicaragua' have been working on a number of these projects through the Nicaraguan Center for Research and Documentation of the Atlantic Coast (CIDCA), dealing at various times with the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education, and the Central American University, as well as the Sandinista government at both national and regional levels. Grammars and dictionaries of Miskitu, Northern Sumu, Southern Sumu (Ulwa), and Rama have been published or are currently being published. CIDCA also cooperates with the Ministry of Education in implementing bilingual programs in English, Miskitu, and Sumu which now reach up to the fifth grade in some schools. In spite of the recent change in government, the work of Linguists for Nicaragua continues in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and with CIDCA.

This essay will focus on a single example of the kind of language and culture program that came into existence and developed in the context of the Nicaraguan Autonomy project. The example is that of the Rama Language and Culture Project, a rescue attempt for a language at a very advanced stage in the process of extinction. This project was felt to be of the utmost urgency and importance by both the Rama themselves and the Sandinista authorities. In the midst of discussions of autonomy and indigenous cultural rights, the Rama

language was stressed as one of the key elements of the ethnic identity of the Rama people, and their right to its preservation was affirmed, regardless of the small number of people involved.

The Rama language at the beginning of the decade of the Sandinista Revolution fit the most dire profile of an endangered language. While its imminent disappearance had already been lamented by Lehmann (1914) and Conzemius (1929), by the mid-1980s it was said that only a few older men still spoke it out of a population of about 900. A 1986 survey of the last speakers revealed a somewhat less dire picture. The island of Rama Cay, where most of the population lives, had a few more speakers than commonly believed, but most of the two dozen speakers identified came from a very isolated mainland community.

Besides the shrinking number of speakers, another aspect typical of language obsolescence was present—a negative attitude toward the language, in the minds of both the Rama and the non-Rama populations. The swift shift from Rama to English enforced by Moravian missionaries in the second half of last century had left its mark on the people. The last speakers of Rama Cay had absorbed the belief that Rama was 'no language' and was 'ugly', and were ashamed of speaking it. Talk of the rescue and revitalization of Rama was therefore characterized by much contradiction and deep ambivalence about the language itself.

In the following sections I will discuss certain aspects of the Rama Language and Culture Project which I feel are important in considering any comparable endeavor. To the extent that the project can be said to be successful, this is due to the convergence and mutual interaction of three key factors: the involvement of the Rama community, the constitutional context of the Autonomy project, and the cooperation of professional linguists.

2. Involvement of the Rama community. The first element in the Rama Language Project is a community searching for a way to recapture its ethnic language, and the key in the dynamics of this community is a Rama Cay woman in her late sixties who has a deep awareness of the urgency and importance of the work: Nora Rigby, known as 'Miss Nora'. All language rescues have heroes of this sort, who, as in this case, are very often not even native speakers of the language they want salvaged.

The involvement of Nora Rigby with the present Rama language project is her third try at rescuing the language. Her first attempt took place in the 1970s, before the Sandinista Revolution, when she opened her house to Barbara Assadi, then a member of a research team surveying the endangered languages of Central America, under the directorship of Lyle Campbell. No extensive linguistic analysis resulted from this first effort, but a lasting bond was established between the two women. Her second experience was part of a community effort at rescuing the Rama language that sprung out of the demands for a literacy campaign in indigenous languages mentioned earlier. The effort was led by Rama community leaders involved with MISURASATA (MIskitu, SUmu, RAma, and Sandinista United, an organization that originally supported

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the Revolution but later opposed the Sandinistas). It involved a young German internationalist who set out to produce Rama materials and to make a dictionary, with Miss Nora as a language informant. This attempt at reviving the language came to a sudden end when he was expelled from the region by the Sandinistas for political reasons having to do with his involvement with MISURASATA, which was to become one of the major Contra forces in the region. These two attempts left Miss Nora deeply worried about her linguistic ability and very concerned that maybe something was really wrong with the language, something that made it unlearnable and unanalyzable. In addition, the second attempt left deep scars in the community, adding confusion, frustration, and anger to the persisting love-hate feeling the Rama had toward their ethnic language. Despite these two aborted attempts, however, Miss Nora did not hesitate to give her dream another chance when Barbara Assadi recommended me to her in the summer of 1984.

The project has progressed as a result of a number of Miss Nora's initiatives. Aware of the limitations of her own knowledge of Rama, she arranged early on for a native speaker from the mainland community to join the project. She later orchestrated with that speaker visits by half of the two dozen native Rama speakers to the CIDCA-Bluefields offices. This was a very important step in bringing out a sense that there actually was a community of Rama speakers. Also, as soon as an elementary analysis of the language had been achieved, Miss Nora initiated a series of community events—some informal, some very formal—to bring awareness of the project to the Rama Cay community. There was an official presentation of the first dictionary, with a demonstration of the writing system, followed by several gatherings with most of the last Rama speakers from the island, meetings with leaders and school teachers, and multiple drop-in visits to the offices of CIDCA-Bluefields by Rama people that she kept inviting to come and see for themselves how we worked. Two years into the project, again on her own initiative, Miss Nora began teaching some Rama in the school with the one teacher who was then willing and interested. By 1990, school children from kindergarten to third grade were receiving some form of instruction in Rama, and all six teachers at the school were asking to be part of the project.

After five years of single-handedly carrying the primary responsibility of making the project a community project, Miss Nora is now looking for reassurance that her efforts will be continued. She is placing her hopes on the recent and possibly decisive addition to the project of a Rama speaker in his fifties, whose return from exile in Costa Rica a few months before the 1990 elections had been eagerly awaited by the community and members of the Rama Language Project. As the only native speaker of Rama who has some literacy skills, he represents the only real candidate for the role of community language specialist literate in Rama. Only time will tell whether this man will take on the leadership role in the Rama Language Project that the community in general, and Miss Nora in particular, want to bestow on him.

Although the mobilization of the Rama community around the Rama Lan-

guage Project developed slowly, it has been growing steadily the past six years. By now both the island and the mainland communities are involved, and both of them have the key people that such a project needs. These include a determined language rescuer like Miss Nora, community leaders who are on the whole supportive beyond their occasionally contradictory discourse and behavior, the school teachers and the school children, and a large sample of the last speakers, as well as members of the community at large.

3. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE PROJECT. The second key ingredient of the Rama Language Project is its constitutional dimension. The project was cast from the start as a response on the part of the Sandinista government to demands formulated by the Rama community.

The Autonomy Statute represented a constitutional context that was crucial to the development of the Rama Language Project: the uncommon matching of the letter of the law with the real possibilities in the field provided it with a supportive and safe space in which to operate. This situation was in stark contrast with field linguists' recent experiences in other Central American countries.

One important manifestation of this political will was the physical safety of all the people involved, a major concern for a project developing in the middle of a war zone, at the height of the Contra war. There were brushes with the militarized situation: I was once momentarily held by MISURASATA Contras on Rama Cay, and the Rama Cay representative was later kidnapped for a week by the same Contras for his involvement with Sandinista projects. Miss Nora and one of her sons were questioned by the Sandinista security forces in Bluefields about what we were actually doing. All this happened at the time of the grassroots discussions of the Autonomy project, and nobody was hurt, jailed, disappeared, or tortured. This is said in the context of previous fieldwork and human-rights work in other countries of the region, which had left me quite unimpressed with the value of written laws.

The nature of the Autonomy project as a peace and reconciliation project for the Atlantic Coast is also what made possible the return of a key Rama speaker to Rama Cay and his subsequent integration into the Rama Language Project. This was accomplished within the framework of efforts to reintegrate those who had joined the anti-Sandinista fighting forces in exile into their native Coast communities.

Another sign of the political will that became law was the strategic support the project received in the form of travel permits and transportation to Rama Cay, as well as access to food distribution and health services for the Rama members of the project in a time of scarcity and general hardship. This became crucial when up to 32 Rama from the jungle gathered in Bluefields during the month we carried out a census of the last Rama speakers of that community. A more intangible aspect of the constitutional context was the prevailing atmosphere of open discussion and willingness of institutions and government to listen and be briefed about little-understood linguistic and sociolinguistic

matters. This attitude of openness and respect turned the whole project into an exciting experiment where much creativity was released at the grassroots level and where accomplishments were granted recognition.

4. THE LINGUISTIC TEAM. The third key element of the Rama Language Project is its team of professional linguists. A key factor in the failure of the two previous attempts was the lack of professional training of the persons on whom the linguistic analysis fell. The strength of the linguistic team involved in the present project consists in the complementarity of talents and skills necessary to deal with all aspects of the project. The team comprises the author, a professional linguist experienced in field work in Central America, and two research assistants, one of whom lived among the Rama for several years, both on Rama Cay and with the mainland community, and thus provides a natural link to the community and its recent history. In addition to this invaluable link to the community, the skills jointly represented by the Rama Language project team include fundraising, administration and organization, and computer competence, as well as the very necessary range of skills in technical and theoretical linguistics. The basic linguistic research part of the project, which aims at documenting the language by producing a grammar, dictionary, and text collection, was started with seed money from the University of Oregon; its principal support has come from the National Science Foundation and, in part, from the Wenner Grenn Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Language rescue is a very complex task, both from the viewpoint of linguistic research and from the viewpoint of community work, and the Rama project has certainly constituted a very challenging fieldwork situation. The complexity of the task, however, has clearly been counterbalanced by the benefits of working on a project with constitutional, institutional, and governmental support.

5. ABOUT THE 'SUCCESS' OF THE RAMA LANGUAGE PROJECT. It is never easy to address the issue of whether any language rescue is a success. Given such an extreme case of language endangerment as that represented by the Rama situation, one wonders what can really be done, and what is really happening in a project of this sort. It is clear that the project is not accomplishing what the Rama people themselves were saying they wanted, or what the Sandinistas were telling me they wanted me to make happen: to revive the language and create a new generation of native speakers. Yet it is just as clear too that the Rama Language Project in its present form is considered one of the most successful of the linguistic and community-development projects of the Atlantic Coast. It has grown steadily in spite of Contra war, Hurricane Joan, economic chaos, and political turmoil of one sort or another. In the electoral campaign of 1990 it was an item of the regional Sandinista platform, and the very first item of the platform presented by the Rama Cay representatives.

Although I am convinced that it is not for us, outsiders, but rather for the Rama themselves to determine whether the project is a success, I am willing to outline what constitutes success for me. For one thing, there is the concrete evidence of the linguistic documentation of the language, in the form of dictionary and grammar, phrase books, calendars, alphabet, and articles in the

local and national press. There is also the daily presence of Miss Nora in the school of Rama Cay over the last three years, and now dozens of children who can name familiar objects in Rama and please their parents with their knowledge. The new awareness of the value of the language is also palpable. This awareness can be articulated by some of the last speakers, as well as teachers, leaders, and community members—that the language is a 'good' language, that it has enough words for a dictionary, that it can be written, that it can be learned, that it has rules of grammar. On the external front, the battle to reintroduce respect for the language was also seemingly gaining ground beyond the Rama community.

I also consider as one large measure of the project's success its being appropriated by the Rama community. This is evidenced by the fact that the project has survived in the face of much adversity, and that the participants of the project represent today an intricate interweaving of Rama speakers and non-speakers, Rama people from the island of Rama Cay and the mainland community, leaders and community people, Sandinista and Contra supporters, cutting across a number of well-established dividing lines in the community.

Success to me is also the emergence of a new discourse among key Rama people of the project who were also principal actors in the previous attempt at language salvage. The depth of the satisfaction some of them feel now—satisfaction about their new awareness of the Rama language and satisfaction about what they are accomplishing through the project—takes them back to their longstanding longing to save the language. Linking the present experience to a recent past which none of them would talk about a few years ago contributes to making the project theirs rather than the Sandinistas' or a foreign linguist's. Recognizing their past initiative as their starting point, they are now reflecting on the feelings of confusion and shame that the previous failed attempts produced and contrasting them with new feelings of satisfaction and relief, that something actually could be, and is being, done.

6. Conclusion. And so it is that, in a small corner of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, a very threatened language is being rescued. The revitalization is not about recreating a community of native speakers; it is rather about issues of self-respect and empowerment, and about reclaiming one's ethnic identity — issues of human value which cannot necessarily be measured in number of words or phrases learned.

The point of this essay is that it took three converging factors to make the project the success it has been. It took a visionary language rescuer like Miss Nora and an interested community slowly developing a relation to the project through her efforts. It also took the historical time of the Sandinista Revolution and the constitutional framework of the 1987 Autonomy Statute of the Atlantic Coast region, including the official commitment to the linguistic and cultural rights of the local populations, regardless of their size or the state of their language. Finally, as previous failed attempts at rescuing the Rama language have shown, it also took the skills, good will, and resources of professional linguists committed to working with the community in its effort at salvaging

and revitalizing its ethnic language within the constitutional context of the Sandinista Revolution.

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An institutional response to language endangerment: A proposal for a Native American Language Center

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This essay will deal with a special type of center devoted to the documentation and teaching of the linguistic traditions of contemporary Native American communities. In my remarks, I will concern myself with the needs that such a center would satisfy in North America—in particular the United States, with which I am most familiar, although some of what I will have to say applies in other parts of the world, of course. While centers possessing many of the qualities I wish to champion here exist in other parts of the world, an impressive example being the Centro Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín in Guatemala, there is none that closely approximates this model in the United States.

There are two features which distinguish the kind of center I wish to contemplate here: (1) the staff and directorate consist primarily of scholars who are native speakers of Native American languages, and (2) the programs and projects of the center are determined primarily by the linguistic vision, scholarship, and concerns of Native Americans.

Native American languages have historically formed an important part of the core of linguistic research in the United States. Indeed, anthropological linguistics has its origins in the work of such figures as Boas, Sapir, and Bloomfield, who based a significant portion of their work on the study of Native American languages. But despite the large contribution of Native American languages to formal language scholarship, tribal communities themselves have been involved primarily as a source of data and have not reaped the benefits of Native American language scholarship which could, in principle, accrue to them. There are, of course, exceptions, an especially impressive one being the Hualapai program described elsewhere in this collection.

A major reason for the failure just alluded to derives from the circumstance that meaningful scholarly communication between professional linguists and native speakers of Native American languages has been thwarted by the lack of opportunities for members of Native American communities to become fully involved in language scholarship. This in turn is due to a number of factors, the most important of which is the fact that many aspects of formal linguistic research are not directly relevant to the more immediate concerns of Native American peoples who are engaged in language planning.

I believe that the relevance and appropriateness of linguistic research are defined largely by professional and university interests, which are in and of themselves legitimate and important. However, progress in Native American

language scholarship must now respond to legitimate and important perceptions of relevant scholarship that are being defined with greater and greater clarity by Native American communities who have been intimately involved in language work for the past twenty years.

Native American peoples are the possessors of a rich but imperiled intellectual heritage, of which their linguistic traditions are a most important and supremely vulnerable part. Any definition of responsible linguistic research must take this fact into consideration. The people who understand this situation best are the Native American peoples themselves. During the past two decades numerous measures have been taken by Native Americans to address the conditions of their languages and to further their maintenance or recovery. What has been lacking, however, is the sort of sustained support system that exists for traditional academic language scholarship. That is to say, there exists no secure and perpetual institutional framework within which Native American language scholars can pursue the kinds of activities—training, research, and development—which are necessary for them to be directly involved in building a Native American linguistics that is truly responsible and responsive to the needs defined by Native American communities.

It is my belief that an important part of the response to the linguistic needs of contemporary Native American communities will consist in the establishment of the necessary institutional framework, in the form of centers specifically devoted to the cultivation of language scholarship by speakers of Native American languages. Such Native American language centers would contribute to a much-needed integration of academic and community-based language scholarship and, most importantly, they would permit the development of programs that respond, not to the requirements of the traditional academic structures in which linguistics is normally pursued, but to imperatives that come from, and are defined by, Native American communities and knowledgeable speakers of Native American languages.

An essential function of these Native American language centers would be the establishment of a mechanism through which talented speakers of Native American languages would be given positions that would enable them to develop and pursue careers in the study and teaching of their languages, on the analogy of tenured faculty positions in colleges and universities. As matters now stand in the United States, the number of language scholars who are native speakers of Native American languages remains small, the merest fraction of the number of non-Native American linguists whose careers have been built wholely or in part on the study of Native American languages. This is not to say, of course, that Native Americans have been inactive in linguistic research and teaching. I am saying, rather, that few Native Americans are involved in careers which relate primarily to the investigation or teaching of their native languages.

In addition to providing permanent career positions, the centers would serve as facilities that Native American language workers and scholars could utilize on a visiting basis to carry out specific projects or for the purpose of receiving training in particular language-related skills. This visiting scholar component

is intended for people who wish to engage in work on their native languages but who would not wish to reside at the center permanently or for prolonged periods. Typically, such scholars would have a particular purpose in mind, such as the acquisition of a skill or the completion of a project. The visitor category would also be used for non-Native American scholars who would work at the center in a teaching capacity or as researchers in a cooperative arrangement with members of the permanent staff. In either case, the visiting scholar mechanism would be used to enhance the educational functions of a host center by incorporating into the agreement for visiting status an appropriate service (e.g. teaching a course or skill) to be rendered by the visitor.

The core functions of the centers would be research and teaching, with special attention to the language-related needs of Native American communities. Thus, the permanent staff of each center would have responsibility not only for pursuing the research activities corresponding to their particular interests, but also for using their capabilities in the service of the language communities that they represent and of the educational community generally. Such services would, of course, include the traditional work of language scholarship, such as the preparation of grammars, dictionaries, pedagogical materials, literacy materials, and compilations of traditional narratives. In addition, however, the staff would be available to teach and help organize linguistic workshops and training sessions as needed in the relevant communities.

The stable and constant feature of each center would be its staff and its facilities for research and teaching. The more fluid and changing aspect of a given language center would be the visiting scholars and the community people (teachers, parents, etc.) making use of it, as well as the particular mix of activities going on at a given time. In addition to basic research by staff and visitors, the range of responsibilities that the center would assume would include the following:

(a) summer institutes devoted to Native American linguistics from various perspectives (e.g. applied linguistics, language and education, literacy, language maintenance, and lexicography);

(b) conferences on topics of importance to various constituencies within the Native American linguistics community (e.g. language family conferences and language competence assessment);

(c) practical courses (e.g. dictionary making, alphabet construction, production of pedagogical materials and language courses, use of computers in linguistic work, and the use of current technologies and the media in language maintenance);

(d) maintenance of a resource library and research facilities, including a language laboratory, a computer center, and a Native American language audio-visual center;

(e) technical publications (e.g. text collections, dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks), publication of Native language texts (stories and history) for the general public and for use in schools, translation of documents and informational materials into Native languages, tapes and videos;

(f) training of speakers of Native American languages in theoretical and practical linguistics, training of Native American bilingual education teachers and other language workers;

(g) assistance to social scientists, film makers, and others whose work requires dealing with Native American languages;

(h) training and consultant services for school districts, materials development centers, and state agencies involved in bilingual education.

(i) cooperative programs and initiatives with other organizations concerned with Native American languages, e.g., among others, the Alaska Native Language Center (ANLC), the Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI), the American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI), the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA), tribal and other community-based language programs, linguistics departments which concentrate on the study of Native American languages, and, in addition, the counterpart organizations in Canada and Mexico.

In broad outline, the elementary structural features of the Native American language center as envisioned here are not new. The structure is essentially that of a university or college. But in other respects, the Native American language center is new in conception. It is unlike existing institutions in respect to its staff, and it is unlike most other institutions in its mode of operation.

The staff would be recruited not only from the small but growing number of Native American doctoral graduates in linguistics but also from the rather large group of Native Americans whose credentials derive from their experience and recognized contributions to community and regional language programs and initiatives. Credentialing and tenure cannot be defined exclusively in terms of existing institutional instruments of accreditation. This is true perforce, because the most crucial intellectual requirement for effective work in a Native American language center—namely, extensive and sensitive native knowledge of a Native American language—is often mutually exclusive with the conventional measures of academic accomplishment, i.e. one or more advanced degrees, multiple publications, and so on.

And as for mode of operation, apart from research and teaching which might proceed according to some sort of annual schedule, most of the work of a Native American language center would be 'responsive'. That is, it would be defined, designed, and carried out in relation to the needs of Native American communities, schools, teachers, families, educational organizations, and individuals—in short, the work would be carried out in relation to the needs of any entity having a reasonable project falling within the range of competences of the center. In this respect, the language center would be like the extension service of a university or community college, except that, in the case of the language center, this responsive component would occupy a primary position within the institution: outreach, interaction with Native American communities, and fundraising would be constant features of the center's operation.

There are many extremely difficult questions that must be addressed in planning for the establishment of a language center—including, of course, the matter of funding; the issue of whether to begin small and grow, as opposed to starting with a fully staffed organization; the question of best location and physical plant; the nature of the administrative structure; the question of whether a center should be connected to an established institution (college or university); and many other questions.

Although some of these problems are large and daunting, and although each of them requires careful attention, they are not insurmountable. And there are at least two very good reasons to begin now to consider seriously the establishment of Native American language centers.

The state of imperilment that characterizes the situation of many Native American languages is extreme, and it is a condition shared, in fact, by most of the languages of the world, as Michael Krauss so clearly demonstrates in his contribution to this collection. It is appropriate that responses to this condition should happen now, before the situation becomes much worse. Even in the most dire cases, it is possible to do something concrete and productive in relation to endangered languages—the Rama Language and Culture Program, described here by Colette Craig, is an example of the best sort. The responsive function of Native American language centers is directly relevant here, since a principal purpose of any language center would be to work with Native American communities to construct appropriate programs of language recovery and maintenance.

The other reason for acting now in establishing Native American language centers is that, in one respect at least, the opportunity to do so exists, to a greater extent than in the past. It is possible to staff a Native American language center with accomplished scholars, teachers, and other language workers who are native speakers of Native American languages. This circumstance is the result of efforts during the past two decades on the part of (1) a few linguistics departments, or associated centers, which have trained native-speaking linguists and, most importantly, (2) the various training institutes that have already existed, such as the American Indian Languages Development Institute (see the essay above by Lucille Watahomigie & Akira Yamamoto). These institutes have produced some of the most capable bilingual/bicultural educators in this country, not only as a direct result of their summer training programs but also by virtue of the staff-training process implicit in the administrative and organizational experience gained through launching and directing those programs.

An effective response to language endangerment, here and elsewhere in the world, will require a wide range of efforts on the part of entities of all sorts—schools, communities, local, regional, and national governments, colleges and universities, and individuals of various backgrounds, including linguists, educators, writers, and parents. No one entity can be expected to mount an effective response. I would argue strongly that language centers of the type briefly described above must figure in the business of language recovery and maintenance. Language centers, like universities, would have the property of relative permanence, and they would serve both as a home for ongoing research and teaching programs and as a base from which progressive initiatives could be launched on behalf of endangered languages.

Most importantly, Native American language centers, in their training and outreach functions, would contribute to the effort—begun by organizations such as AILDI and NALI—to create the mechanisms that will enable Native American communities to achieve autonomy in matters having to do with their native languages.

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Doing Mayan linguistics in Guatemala

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Linguists working in Guatemala in recent years have had the benefit of being able to work with an increasingly linguistically sophisticated, politically aware, and culturally concerned population. Mayas have been quite forthright about informing linguists about what they believe to be the proper sort of linguistics to do. In 1985, for instance, a group of Mayas participating in the VIII Mayan Linguistics Workshop in Antigua Guatemala called on linguists 'not to contribute to the internal division of each Mayan language, not to promote or officialize Spanish borrowings in those languages, not to marginalize speakers of Mayan languages in the investigation of their own languages, and not to monopolize or reserve for themselves linguistic methodology and knowledge' (Cojtí Cuxil 1990:3).[1] It was perhaps a shock to some linguists, as it was to me, to realize that good will and good relations with the individual collaborators in our past research, a dedication to sound scientific principles of linguistic research, and even instruction in literacy and linguistics on the part of many of us were not enough to avoid rather severe criticism of our role in Mayan linguistics.

The criticism, which was voiced again even more strongly in the XI Mayan Linguistics Workshop in 1989 in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala, and which is eloquently (and devastatingly) developed in Cojtí Cuxil 1990, addresses several different issues. First, it assumes that doing linguistics is essentially political. Second, it fundamentally questions some of the tenets that have guided many linguists in research, principally the idea that an adequate description simply reports 'what is there'. Third, it proposes, both explicitly and implicitly, a set of standards and obligations for linguists to follow in their research on minority languages. All of the issues raised are germane to linguistics in general and not just to Mayan linguistics. I will take them in order.[2]

1. THE POLITICS OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH. Mayas make the point that linguistics is not done in a political vacuum. Someone pays for research, and the

[1] Translations of quotes from Cojtí Cuxil and of statements from the XI Mayan Linguistics Workshop are mine.

[2] My thinking about these issues is heavily influenced by my work with Mayas over the last twenty years, but especially in the last five years. I have benefitted from many critical conversations with my students, colleagues, and co-researchers. I would especially like to recognize the contributions of the members of the classes Jun Iq' and Jun Ajkem to my thinking on these matters; of my research colleagues Pakal, Saq Ch'en, Nik'te', Waykan, and Saqijix of the group Oxlajuj Kej, and also that of Guillermo Rodríguez Guaján, Demetrio Rodríguez Guaján, Irma Otzoy, Luis Enrique Sam Colop, and Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil. Needless to say, they are not responsible for what I have done with our conversations and would not necessarily agree with me. Cojtí Cuxil's 1990 article, 'Linguística e idiomas Mayas en Guatemala', is an extraordinarily clear and profound work on the politics of Mayan linguistics. It is the principal publication by a Maya in this field, but it reflects, I think, the thoughts of many other individuals as well.

reasons for funding one kind of research rather than another can be political. The personal motives that linguists have for choosing a research topic and a language or place for doing research are varied and certainly cover nonlinguistic considerations, including political ones. Doing research can affect various local situations, such as language maintenance, language shift, expanding literacy, and increased bilingualism, all of which enter into the local political equations. When linguists are foreigners in their research area, as is the case with the vast majority of Mayan linguists, then the possibility that they represent some foreign governmental position arises. Similarly, because of the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and other missionary groups, foreign linguists are often thought to represent religious interests. Furthermore, the language under investigation is spoken by people who are members of a linguistic community and also a political community. Any research undertaken in that community may affect or be affected by the political status of the group.

At the XI Mayan Linguistics Workshop, in a panel discussion on the role of foreign linguists in Mayan linguistics, a number of the public questions addressed politics directly or indirectly. In particular, Mayas asked about ulterior motives for research: 'Why are foreign linguists interested in Mayan linguistics?' 'What goal does the research done by foreigners have in their own country?' 'The work of the linguists is limited solely to research ... or perhaps they are really working for the politics and ideology of their government.' They also made explicit reference to the political status of Mayan communities in relation to linguistic research: 'Does knowledge of Mayan languages contribute to the subordination of the Mayan population?' 'Is it possible for the foreign linguist to contribute seriously to the total elimination of the distinct tentacles of internal and external colonialism that currently envelops the Maya?'

Many of us have been used to thinking that our work is pure science—that the most compelling reasons for doing linguistics are to know how specific languages work and what language is. The widely accepted Western idea that knowledge in and of itself is valuable for society is often the only justification we need to do what we do. And if the people we work with do not or cannot understand that, it is because they are poor and do not have the luxury of being able to think about the universal benefits of science, or it is because they are uneducated or unsophisticated. The Mayas who spoke at the XI Workshop may be poor, but they are not uneducated nor unsophisticated. What they are saying is that the conduct of social science research, in which category they definitely place linguistics, can have negative or positive consequences for the group where that research is carried out, and that an evaluation of the possible consequences must start with a consideration of the political status of the group in question. In the case of the Mayas of Guatemala, this must take into account that they are a politically subordinated set of communities that have been subject to five hundred years of colonialist policy. Language is part of that policy, for instance in the differential legal and customary statuses accorded to Mayan languages and Spanish. It is also part of the political reality of the communities, indicating at the same time both the autonomous origin of those communities and their current subordinate position (Cojtí Cuxil 1990:4).

Linguists working in Guatemala, then, have the option of doing and presenting their research in a manner that supports the dominant political group, which has an interest in the elimination of Mayan languages or at least in the spread of Spanish, at whatever cost; or in a manner that supports the well-being of Mayan languages. Almost all of our activities, no matter how politically neutral we may consider them, are seen by Guatemalans as falling into one camp or the other. The choices we have do not include neutrality, and are presented quite clearly by Cojtí Cuxil (1990:19):

> 'It is difficult, above all in Guatemala, where Ladino colonialism reigns and where the very Political Constitution assigns informal functions to Mayan languages, for linguists to define themselves as neutral or apolitical, since they work on languages that are sentenced to death and officially demoted. In this country, the linguist who works on Mayan languages only has two options: either active complicity in the prevailing colonialism and linguistic assimilationism, or activism in favor of a new linguistic order in which equality in the rights of all the language is made concrete, something that also implies equal rights for the nationalities and communities.'

2. THE ROLE OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH. We have been taught to be true to our data, to report it as accurately as we possibly can, and to be as exhaustive as possible in descriptive linguistics and as honest as possible in using descriptive data in theoretical work. We have not been as well drilled in sociolinguistic sensitivity; to be both honest and accurate requires taking the broad social situation into account. Every time we write an article about a language we do several things: we make an analysis of some body of linguistic data, we discuss that analysis in the light of current pertinent theory, we select examples of speech to illustrate our points, and we bring that language into at least momentary prominence according to the analysis, the theory, and the selection of data. Language prominence resulting from linguistic research has many nonlinguistic consequences, and selection of data is guided by a multiplicity of nonlinguistic as well as linguistic factors.

Selection of data is a thorny issue. First of all, unless we are native speakers of the language we work on, we automatically select the data that WE KNOW from among the possible set of data. Additionally, we select data that illustrates the point we wish to make. Furthermore, we select a great deal of data that is wholly tangential to the point we wish to make because it accompanies the data that does make the point, and that is the way we elicited or received it. We also select speakers to give us the data we work on, for all sorts of reasons including availability, intelligence, compatibility, age, sex, linguistic ability, community leadership, and so on. And sometimes the result is that the examples we use are disliked by or even offensive to the community we work with. Our defense usually is that they are examples of real language taken from natural language situations, that they are scientifically accurate, and that it would be unethical and unscientific to change them. I do not believe that a request to use additional selection criteria for examples involves an unscientific tampering with the data; it instead is a plea for sensitivity in the presentation of data, and in many cases it is a plea for more accurate reporting of data.

One of the points raised by Mayas in the 1985 workshop was that we should

not promote or officialize Spanish borrowing in Mayan languages. Another point raised was that our choices of example words in paradigms and elsewhere were on occasion infelicitous. Examples given included the choice of 'flea' to illustrate a noun paradigm in one of the workshop papers, and the frequent choice of 'kill' as the paradigmatic transitive verb. The essential point being made here is that choice of examples, especially in minority languages or languages without a grand written literary tradition, does much more than illustrate a linguistic point: it also characterizes a language socially by providing it with an official, scholarly, and WRITTEN personality. Frequently, the only information on a minority language available to the outside is what linguists write about it, since it may have no written and published autochthonous literature. Our seemingly casually chosen examples, representing as they do the most minimal portion of the total language, can quite inadvertently distort the social portrait of the language in question.

Responding to requests to use certain kinds of examples or to refrain from using other kinds of examples is not unethical or unscientific. It simply adds another factor to the myriad of factors that guide us in our choice of examples. If we write a grammar with thirty illustrative sentences containing transitive verbs, and twenty-five of those sentences are about violent actions, it seems reasonable for a speaker to ask why we chose those particular sentences and to wonder whether we were trying to achieve a certain unpleasant portrait of the people who speak the language. It might not be obvious that 'kill' and 'hit' are verbs that lend themselves extremely well to certain kinds of explanations, since they can, among other things, take subjects and objects of any person and number.

Borrowings raise another point. Mayas feel that the high percentage of Spanish borrowing to be found in the speech of some individuals is a sign of political domination and language morbidity. Although we can point to languages (like English) that have survived very nicely a period of accelerated borrowing, the point is certainly valid in that many threatened languages do, in fact, exhibit a high level of borrowing. There are words that are of foreign origin but fully incorporated into a language and that lack an adequate 'native' equivalent, and there are words that are even preferred to their native equivalents. However, there are also speakers, of Mayan languages at least, who use many fewer borrowings than other speakers. We can add that as a factor to consider in our choice of people to give us data on language. Where the borrowings that we collect are not central to the matter under discussion, they can often be changed without damaging the rest of the example. And where we are explicitly discussing borrowing, or have no alternative but to include borrowed words in our examples, Mayas suggest that we discuss and comment critically on the sociolinguistic situations that result in borrowing.

The issue here is not simply one of accommodating to certain isolated requests for changes in our examples. I believe that Mayas are challenging the whole idea of descriptive accuracy, and are suggesting that adequate description must take into account sociolinguistic and political factors as well as linguistic facts. That is, a description of a language provides part of a social

description of the people who speak that language, and the speakers, and hence the language, also exist in a political context. The information that our linguistic descriptions give about social matters should be as accurate as the information they give about linguistic structure; and we must be aware of the political implications of what we write and, in a situation like that of Mayas in Guatemala, consciously take sides in a political confrontation. If we are forced to recognize that a language is of low prestige, or contains a great many foreign borrowings, or is otherwise politically or socially 'weak', then Mayas would have us explain and attack those facts, not merely report them.

We are used to being the arbiters of our own choices, and defend those choices valiantly. We are sometimes offended when others suggest that we must re-examine decisions that seem to us to be purely linguistic and more within our competency than that of any other person. We also tend to regard the languages we work on as personal property, or at the best as public property. Mayas challenge that notion as well: 'Mayan languages are the collective property of their speakers, and it primordially pertains to the speakers to study them and to decide their destiny' (Cojtí Cuxil 1990:20). Mayas not only criticize some of our choices, they also defend their right to do so.

Thus the role of linguistics can be seen as a scholarly role WITHIN a given political and social context. In many cases, this implies working with a SUBORDINATE language, which further implies intellectual, scholarly, and political responsibilities to that language and the people who speak it. These responsibilities are not the same as those we have when we work with dominant languages. We are asked, at the very least, to recognize the social and political roles we play and not to pretend that our role is 'purely scientific' and neutral. We are additionally asked, and this is much more difficult for us, to accept that speakers of the languages we work with, not professional linguists except insofar as they coincide, are the ultimate judges of what should or should not be done with their languages.

3. THE OBLIGATION OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH. Many of the comments at the XI Mayan Linguistics Workshop reflected an underlying resentment of foreign, which is to say non-Mayan, control of linguistics. A number of people asked why we publish so much in languages inaccessible to them: 'Why are all the investigations only written in English and you don't leave a copy for the Mayan community in their own languages or in Spanish?' Others questioned our willingness to do linguistics under the control of the speakers: 'Would you be willing to do work in conjunction with Mayan groups or associations, working with them in an equitable manner?' 'If speakers of Mayan languages come to have power over the destiny of Mayan linguistics, would the foreign linguists accept being subject to rules established by the speakers, leaving aside their personal and institutional differences?'

Other criticisms of foreign linguistics that also deal with control include a widespread feeling that we do not do enough to share our specialized knowledge with speakers of Mayan languages. One of the Maya panelists asked the question: 'Do we need foreign linguists?' His answer was: 'Yes, unfortunately.'

However, Mayas are suggesting, more and more frequently, that the proper role of the foreign linguist is to teach speakers of Mayan languages how to do linguistics. This comment is directed not only to descriptive linguists who work on Mayan languages, but to theoretical linguists as well. Those theoreticians who do not have direct contact with communities of speakers of subordinate languages may have thought, up to now, that the matters under discussion do not particularly pertain to them. Mayas believe, however, that at least some speakers of their languages must study linguistics at the highest levels, in order to have real control over Mayan linguistics. This implies, of course, that we may have a responsibility to make sure that our students who are speakers of subordinate languages receive the opportunity for a first-rate linguistic education, even when faced with problems of language, nationality, and formal educational preparation. Because it is so very much more difficult for anyone who is a member of a subordinate language community to reach the point of being ready for university or graduate education in a foreign country, it is an even greater responsibility to nurture those few students who do reach that point. The role in instruction that Mayas ask us to assume is not an easy one. It requires a great amount of unaccustomed effort, time, bureaucratic manipulation, and financial sacrifice.

Given that foreign linguists do control Mayan linguistics so far, our production is not seen as all that wonderful, either. Cojtí Cuxil (1990:21–22) lists among our weaknesses and failures those of: 'Doing partial and simplistic studies of Mayan languages for reasons of economy, ease, preference or incompetence' and 'Reflecting incompletely the lexical repertory of each of the Mayan languages.' How many of us have been dismayed on hearing someone assure us that language X (in my case it was Quechua) is a primitive language, since we try so hard to dispel the notion of 'primitive' languages? I was much more dismayed to discover that, in the Quechua instance, the person had a seemingly legitimate reason for his idea: that there are only 5,000 words in some dictionary of the language. And who was responsible for writing the dictionary? Worse yet, I have heard a number of linguists claim that we should not have anything to do with prescriptive grammars, tainted as they are by linguistic impurity and incomplete description. Prescriptive grammars are NECESSARY for developing literacy, and if linguists refuse to involve themselves in writing them or teaching people how to write them, they are bound to be, unnecessarily, linguistically inaccurate.

I believe that our obligations can be subsumed under four major areas:

(1) Recognizing the political and social context for our research and, where necessary, taking the part of the language we study and its speakers.

(2) Recognizing the rights of speakers of politically subordinate languages over those languages, and paying attention to their expressed wishes for the public presentation of facts about their languages.

(3) Contributing to the training of linguists who are speakers of subordinate languages, at every level from the empirical to the theoretical.

(4) Publishing descriptions and analyses of the languages we work on that

are of the highest possible quality, and making those publications available to speakers of the language.

How to meet our obligation depends on the specific situation in which we work. The particular contexts for each language differ significantly. It seems to me that what Mayas are suggesting is applicable to a much wider set of languages around the world, however, and that we can all benefit from reflecting on their comments in the light of our own research experiences. Trying to meet the challenges they pose can be extraordinarily rewarding as well, and, when all is said and done, leads to better linguistics.

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Language endangerment and the human value of linguistic diversity

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Linguists typically celebrate the tension that plays between two realities of human linguistic knowledge, universality and diversity. But linguistic diversity is not something whose future can be taken for granted. Many local languages and cultures find themselves in great peril in this era, a fact well documented elsewhere in this collection.

In the following paragraphs I will be concerned with the idea that linguistic diversity is important to human intellectual life—not only in the context of scientific linguistic inquiry, but also in relation to the class of human activities belonging to the realms of culture and art.

From the perspective of linguistic science, arguments for safeguarding the world's linguistic diversity require no special discussion in this journal. Suppose English were the only language available as a basis for the study of general human grammatical competence. We know enough about the latter to be able to say now that we could learn a great deal about it from English alone. But we also know enough about linguistic diversity to know that we would miss an enormous amount.

If English were the only language, we could learn a lot about the fundamental principles of grammar, but we could only guess at the nature of that which can vary, except to the extent that this is evident from the varieties of English itself. And this would amount to missing an important point of human linguistic competence. By itself, English would supply a mere hint of the complexity of the system of principles and parameters which permits content questions to be formed either by movement (as in English) or by retention of the question word in situ (Japanese, and English in multiple questions). Considering just English, the category of number—as represented in *cat* vs. *cats*—tells us little about the opposition involved. Only the especially curious might wonder whether the theory of grammar defines the number contrast as [± singular] or as [± plural]. And where English is the only language, this is probably a meaningless ques-

tion. But the question is not meaningless in a world which also has Hopi. There, it can be argued, determiners show the first contrast, while verbs show the second, dual number being the intersection of the minus values. At every turn, in every domain of grammar, the value of language diversity to the work of linguists is evident. The point does not need belaboring.

The notion that the world's linguistic diversity is a precious resource does not derive solely from linguistic science, of course. Language is much more than grammar. The term 'language' embraces a wide range of human competences and capacities, and it is not clear that it makes sense to think of it as a single entity.

Of supreme significance in relation to linguistic diversity, and to local languages in particular, is the simple truth that language—in the general, multifaceted sense—embodies the intellectual wealth of the people who use it. A language and the intellectual productions of its speakers are often inseparable, in fact. Some forms of verbal art—verse, song, or chant—depend crucially on morphological and phonological, even syntactic, properties of the language in which it is formed. In such cases the art could not exist without the language, quite literally. Even where the dependency is not so organic as this, an intellectual tradition may be so thoroughly a part of a people's linguistic ethnography as to be, in effect, inseparable from the language.

In this circumstance, there is a certain tragedy for the human purpose. The loss of local languages, and of the cultural systems that they express, has meant irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth, the priceless products of human mental industry. The process of language loss is ongoing. Many linguistic field workers have had, and will continue to have, the experience of bearing witness to the loss, for all time, of a language and of the cultural products which the language served to express for the intellectual nourishment of its speakers.

In the remainder of this essay, I would like to describe one such product of a people's intellectual work. This is a tradition whose decline and virtual disappearance I witnessed in the course of field work in Australia. It was the treasure of a small group of Australian Aboriginal people, the Lardil, living on Mornington Island in North Queensland.

While working on the syntax and lexicon of Lardil in 1960, I heard of the existence of an auxiliary language, called Damin, which some initiated men in the community could still use. Most men could not, since the mission administrating Mornington Island during the early decades of this century had forbidden the practice of initiation many years earlier, and it was in the context of initiation that Damin was learned. Only men initiated before the mission was established had had the opportunity to learn Damin, and only a few of those men were still living in 1960.

I was not able to work on Damin until 1967. An anthropologist working with the Lardil people sent me a tape of Damin while I was working in another community farther south. When I heard the tape, I knew that Damin was something very special, so I arranged to visit Mornington Island again. The feature of Damin that first caught my attention was its phonology. It departs drastically

from the phonology of Lardil, and it has sounds in it which do not exist in any other Australian language. For example, it has click consonants, otherwise found only in Africa—in the Khoisan languages, for example, and in the Nguni languages of the Bantu family, languages with no historical connection to Lardil. The use of clicks in Damin developed locally. Damin has the appearance of an invented language, and it is attributed, in fact, to a legendary figure named Kalthad (Yellow Trevally). If it was invented, then it is a clever invention, indeed, because it is almost unheard of for an invented language to depart radically from the phonological constraints of the ordinary language of the inventor. The impression that Damin is an invention is strengthened by the fact that it not only has sounds absent elsewhere in Australia, but it also has sounds found nowhere else in the world—as true phonological segments, that is. These include an ingressive voiceless lateral and a labio-velar lingual ejective.

Although its sound system is spectacular, the extraordinary genius of Damin is to be found in its lexicon. In its original purpose, Damin was an 'auxiliary language', in the sense that it was used in place of Lardil when this was necessary for ritual reasons. An idea of its nature can be gained from a consideration of how it was learned and used. According to the accounts of surviving Demiinkurlda, or 'Damin-possessors', as they were called, Damin was learned by novices in the advanced phase of men's initiation. Men who went through this stage were called Warama, and in theory only Warama learned Damin. In practice, however, since it was used in public, many people who were not Warama, both men and women, had passive knowledge of it. Its purpose, apart from the intellectual pleasure it gave, was to serve as a vehicle of communication between Warama and all individuals involved in their initiation. The use of ordinary Lardil with these people was forbidden, until they had been repaid the ritual debt owed to them by the Warama as a result of initiation. Damin is a lexicon, not an entire language. The rule in using Damin correctly is this: each lexical item of Lardil must be replaced by a Damin item; the inflectional morphology and syntax of Lardil remains intact. An example of this lexical replacement procedure can be seen in 1 below, in which the first line is in Lardil, the second is the Damin equivalent, and the third is a literal gloss of the morphemes in the sentence:

(1) *Ngithun dunji-kan ngawa wiame-kur werneng-kiyath-ur*
n'au n'n!a-kan nh!nh!u tiitith-ur m!ii-ngkiyath-ur.
my WiYBro-GEN dog go-FUT food-GO-FUT
'My wife's younger brother's dog is going hunting (lit. going for food).'

As this example shows, the syntax and morphology of Damin and Lardil are the same. Both use the same case system. The genitive (glossed GEN) is exemplified here, as well as the nominative, which is not overtly marked—*ngawa*, *nh!nh!u* 'dog' is in the nominative. And the two share the same system of verbal tenses; the future, glossed FUT, is seen here. And finally, they use the same system of derivational morphology, exemplified here by the verb-forming allative ending *-(ng)kiya-* (glossed GO). This element converts the noun *werne*,

m'ii 'food' into a verb meaning 'to go after food, to hunt'. This sentence also illustrates the click consonants of Damin. All Damin clicks are nasalized. That is to say, the velar occlusion associated with the production of clicks is released as a velar nasal. In the first word, the click articulation (itself symbolized ʔ) is in the alveopalatal position (symbolized by using [n] for the nasal component). The other clicks are the dental [nh^t], as in the word for 'dog', and the bilabial [m^t], as in the word for 'food'. In some items the click is reduplicated, as in the words for 'dog' and 'wife's younger brother'.

While inflectional and derivational morphology is the same for Lardil and Damin, the lexicon is totally different. Thus, each noun, verb, or pronoun in the Lardil of 1 matches a distinct item in Damin. It is the nature of this replacement lexicon which is extraordinary. It is constructed in such a way that, in principle, it can be learned in one day. In practice, it is said, learning Damin took place over a longer period, though one could, in fact, learn it in a day. The lexicon can be learned in one day, yet, in combination with Lardil syntax and morphology, it can be used to express virtually any idea. How can a lexicon be SMALL enough to learn in one day and, at the same time, be RICH enough to express all ideas? A moment's reflection on this question can only inspire admiration, in my judgment.

The answer, of course, is abstractness. The Damin lexicon cannot be rich in the usual sense of having large numbers of lexical items denoting concepts of great specificity (like the ordinary Lardil or English vocabulary, for example). Rather, the richness of Damin is of a different sort, the opposite of this in fact. Damin lexical items are abstract names for logically cohesive families of concepts. The richness of Damin resides in the semantic breadth of its lexical items, permitting a small inventory (less than 200 items) to accommodate the same range of concepts as does the much larger ordinary vocabulary (of unknown size).

The example given in 1 above can be used to illustrate the basic point of Damin abstractness. Consider the first word of that sentence. In Lardil, this is a form of the first person singular pronoun, and, as such, it is involved in a rich complex of oppositions expressed by a set of 19 distinct pronouns. There are three persons, three numbers (singular, dual, plural), an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural, and in all nonsingular pronouns there is a two-way distinction among the pronouns for generation harmony. There can be little doubt that ordinary Lardil is rich in the sense of highly specific, in this domain. By contrast, Damin reduces all of this to a single binary opposition:

(2) (a) *n'aa* 'ego'
(b) *n'aa* 'alter'

The first of these is used to refer to any set which includes the speaker, including the set which includes only the speaker. The second refers to any set which does not include the speaker.

The abstraction represented by 2 is actually greater than what I have indicated, since the entire set of determiners (i.e. demonstratives, as well as pro-

nouns) is subsumed in this opposition. This means that each of 2a, b is more abstract that any of the actual Lardil words that it covers. There is, in ordinary Lardil, no single word that corresponds either to 2a or to 2b. Nor is it likely that there is any such word in English, or any other language, for that matter, setting aside the highly technical vocabularies of fields in which deictic reference is of central importance (e.g. *ego* and *alter* of kinship studies, a close, but not exact, correspondence).

The domain of time is analyzed in the same fashion. Thus temporal reference, like pronominal reference, employs a fundamental binary classification, opposing the present to all other times:

(3) (a) *kaa* 'present, now'
(b) *kaawi* 'other than present, other than now'

The first of these terms is used in place of Lardil words such as *vanda* 'now, today' and *ngardu* 'presently', while the second corresponds to such words as *bilaa* 'recently (in the past)', *bilaanku* 'tomorrow', and *dinarrku* 'yesterday'. Again, the terminology here involves an abstract classification of the domain, and each of the terms is more abstract than any Lardil lexical item.

Our example sentence 1 contains further examples of abstraction. The term *nh!nh!u* 'dog' is one of the few terms in Damin that refers to a narrow class of entities (the class of canines, dingos and dogs). It would appear to be a counterexample to the general principle of abstraction. However, the term is, in fact, used to refer to an abstract set, that of domestic animals—it combines with *ngaa*, a term referring generally to animate beings, especially humans, and to mortality, to form *ngaa-nh!nh!u* 'horse', and it combines with *waybarr*, a term referring to wooded plants, to form *waybarr-nh!nh!u* 'cattle'. The study of the semantics of Damin compounds is in its infancy, I am afraid, and it is not clear how the components of the compounds just cited yield the meanings given. It is clear, however, that *nh!nh!u* refers to domestic animals in general (the dingo being classified with the domestic dog). And, as usual, this usage is not matched by that of any Lardil lexical item.

Sentence 1 also illustrates the most abstract of the Damin verbal lexical items, *tiiti* 'act'. This is the generalized active verb in Damin. It corresponds to both transitive and intransitive verbs of Lardil—e.g. *atha* 'eat', *ndima* 'hit', *kurkala* 'put', *matha* 'get, take', *murrwa* 'follow', *watha* 'give', *wungi* 'steal', *iatha* 'enter', *kangka* 'speak', *kirri* 'drip', and *wan* 'go'. The Damin verb is used in reference to activities other than those resulting in harmful effects. Verbs of harmful effect are represented in Damin by *titi*, with a short initial syllable, rather than the long syllable of the generalized activity verb. However slight this phonological difference might seem to be, it is real and rigidly observed in Damin usage—*titi* corresponds to such Lardil verbs as *burrki* 'chop', *betha* 'bite', *bunbe* 'shoot', *derlde* 'break', *kele* 'cut', and *netha* 'hit'. This does not exhaust the verbal inventory of Damin, but it covers the vast majority of active verbs in Lardil. And each of these Damin verbs is, as expected, more abstract than any Lardil verb.

While abstraction is the general rule in Damin, exceeding that of Lardil lexical

items, in some cases the Damin terminology corresponds to abstract terms in Lardil itself. This is particularly true in certain domains having to do with foods. Thus, the Damin term *m'ii* applies to foods in general, particularly vegetable foods, and corresponds closely to the Lardil term *weme* 'food'. Likewise, certain seafoods are classed in the Lardil manner—thus, *l'ii* 'bony fishes' (with *l'* representing the ingressive lateral consonant) corresponds to Lardil *yaka*; Damin *thi* 'cartilaginous fishes, sharks and stingrays' corresponds to Lardil *thuarra*; and Damin *thuu* corresponds to the interesting heterogeneous Lardil class *kendabal* 'sea turtles and dugongs'.

The Damin lexicon must achieve a balance between abstraction and expressive power, since it must satisfy two essentially contradictory requirements. It must be such that it can be learned quickly and, at the same time, it must be such that it can be used, in cooperation with Lardil inflectional morphology and syntax, to express any idea which Lardil itself can be used to express. It cannot be too abstract, therefore.

The Damin kinship terminology exemplifies this point well. The system has five terms (including *n'n'a*, seen in 1 above). This amounts to a massive reduction from the Lardil kinship terminology, which, like most Australian systems, is very large. There is a mystery in the reduction, though, since the logic of the classificatory kinship system would lead one to expect an even number, say four. But while this would be appropriately abstract, it would require merger of one of the most important kinship distinctions in Lardil society, that between second-cross cousins (*n'n'a*), the class that includes the preferred marriage partners, and first-cross cousins (*jii*), the class of alternant marriage partners. The Damin terminology strikes the optimal balance between abstraction and expressive power.

It is clear from what little we know of Damin that it involves a sophisticated semantic analysis of the lexical resources of Lardil. The system of abstractions lays bare aspects of lexical semantic structure to a degree which, quite possibly, is not achieved by any other system of analysis that attempts to accommodate an entire vocabulary.

The last fluent user of Damin passed away several years ago. The destruction of this intellectual treasure was carried out, for the most part, by people who were not aware of its existence, coming as they did from a culture in which wealth is physical and visible. Damin was not visible for them, and as far as they were concerned, the Lardil people had no wealth, apart from their land.

We cannot say that the Damin tradition is utterly lost to the Lardil people. However, it is all but gone, since revival of its would be from recorded sources; and if revival were to be attempted, a new Damin tradition would be initiated, necessarily, since the cultural context of the original tradition is irrecoverable—there are no survivors of that period. The development of a new Damin tradition is not a bad thing, of course; in fact it would be an exciting thing. But the old Damin tradition is effectively lost. And the destruction of this tradition must be ranked as a disaster, comparable to the destruction of any human treasure.

It is perhaps of little use simply to bemoan the loss of a treasure. The example of Damin is offered as an instance of the nature of things that have been lost

and of what can be lost if linguistic and cultural diversity disappears. On the other hand, the safeguarding of linguistic and cultural diversity does not guarantee the perpetuation of existing traditions of intellectual endeavor, of course. In fact, a living tradition implies change. And it is precisely the development of new traditions which is most consonant with the human purpose. And it is precisely where local languages are viable that new traditions develop. Thus, for example, in the Southwest of the United States, beside the continuing traditions of sung verse, a new tradition of poetry is developing, in Papago, Pima, Yaqui, Navajo, and Hualapai, for example, in the context of the growing use of the written form of these languages (encouraged by such institutions as AILDI, described elsewhere in this collection).

If the foregoing discussion is at all reasonable, then certain things follow. While it is good and commendable to record and document fading traditions, and in some cases this is absolutely necessary to avert total loss of cultural wealth, the greater goal must be that of safeguarding diversity in the world of people. For that is the circumstance in which diverse and interesting intellectual traditions can grow. Consider again the case of Damin. We have a small record of that auxiliary language, enough to appreciate its worth. But we have no idea what it would have become, how it would have changed, or, most important, what kind of role it might have played in Lardil intellectual life in this or the next decade. It might have disappeared, of course. That would have been their business. But it might have led to something even greater. We will never know, since the necessary condition has not existed—namely, an environment safe for cultural diversity which would have permitted the Lardil people to learn and use Damin into the next century.

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S. 2044 TESTIMONY
NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE ISSUES INSTITUTE
Presented by Dr. Carl Downing, Executor
Native American Language Issues Institute
June 18, 1992

INTRODUCTION/ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On behalf of the Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI), thank you for the opportunity to testify before this distinguished committee in support of the Native American Languages Act of 1991, S. 2044. My name is Dr. Carl Downing, one of the Executors of NALI; I have been active in Indian Education and Native American preservation issues for many years, and currently direct the ONALDI (Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute).

First I would like to tell you a little about our organization. NALI is a non-profit organization chartered in 1986 for the purpose of protecting the rights of Native American communities to preserve and utilize their languages in the perpetuation of the Native American cultural base, including the retention and revitalization of values and belief systems which are indigenous to Native American peoples.

NALI had its beginnings in 1980 when a group of concerned professional language educators met to discuss Native American language issues. Annual Native American Language Issues Institutes have been held for more than a decade, and NALI has evolved into a major Native American language advocacy national network. The NALI goal is to preserve, protect and promote the development of Native American languages.

I would like to begin my testimony with a quote from a 1990 report issued by the U. S. Department of the Interior, **KEEPERS OF THE TREASURES: PROTECTING HISTORIC PROPERTIES AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS ON INDIAN LANDS**, which was based on meetings and other consultations with Indian tribes, extensive study by the National Park Service staff, discussions with Native American organizations, State Historic Preservation Officers, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and other Federal agencies. A minimum of seventy-four Indian tribes responded to a variety of discussions, meetings and surveys, and summarized the importance of language as follows:

"At the very core of preservation from the perspective of American Indian tribes is the retention and use of languages. Native American cultures are living traditional cultures in which the past is transmitted orally from one generation to the next. Information about the past, about the spiritual, ceremonial, and natural worlds is passed through language. Without it, a culture can be irreparably damaged."

Tribal participants offered the following recommendation for preserving American Indian Languages: "Federal policy should recognize the central importance of language in maintaining the integrity of Indian tribal traditions and the tribal sense of identity and well being." The Federal Government recognized this need in Sec. 102 (3) of the Native American Languages Act: ". . . .the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their culture and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values." S. 2044, which establishes grant programs to assure the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages, is a conscientious effort on the part of the Federal Government to support viable programs which will assist in the preservation, protection, and promotion of American Indian Languages.

The Executors and Members of the Native American Languages Issues Institute wholeheartedly support through this testimony and incorporated resolution, the funding of S. 2044, The Native American Languages Act of 1991. Justification of NALI's support in this testimony is presented in the following categories: The Human Condition; Congressional Acknowledgment of Needs; Inadequate Financial Resources; Recommendations; and NALI Resolution.

THE HUMAN CONDITION

Status of Language

Dr. Michael Krauss of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Director of the Alaska Native Language Center states:

> The Eyak language of Alaska now has two aged speakers; Mandan has 6, Osage 5, Abenaki-Penobscot 20, and Iowa has 5 fluent speakers. According to counts in 1977, already 13 years ago, Coeur d'Alene had fewer than 20, Tuscarora fewer than 30, Menomini fewer than 50, Yokuts fewer than 10. On and on this sad litany goes, and by no means only for Native North America (1992:4).

Krauss continues to state:

> Statistics on language viability are very hard to come by. For some viability statistics I shall begin in the areas most familiar to me personally. In Alaska now only 2 of the 20 Native languages--Central Yupik Eskimo and Siberian Yupik Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island--are still being learned by children. For the whole U.S.A. and Canada together, a similar count is only a little less alarming: of 187 languages, I calculate that 149 are no longer being learned by children; that is, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund (1992:4-5).

Someone might ask what difference it makes whether a language becomes extinct or not. An anthropological linguist at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. Kenneth Hale, states

that language loss "is part of a much larger process of loss, a **LOSS OF CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY** in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled" (1992:1). In Time Magazine (September 23, 1991) we read:

> Or horrible day 1600 years ago, the wisdom of many centuries went up in flames. The great Alexandria burned down, a catastrophe at the time and a symbol for all ages of the "vulnerability of human knowledge" . . . . Today, with little notice, more vast archives of knowledge and expertise are spilling into oblivion, leaving humanity in danger of losing its past and perhaps jeopardizing its future as well. Stored in the memories of elders, healers, midwives, farmers, fishermen and hunters is an enormous trove of wisdom.

Self-Identity

As stated in the Native American Languages Act, "the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values [Section 102(3)]. A language learning theorist, Renzo Titone, also states that the individual's immediate outlook on reality and his ultimate view of life and the world, which are parts of culture, determine his style of expression (1983:278); an anthropologist, William Haviland, echoes this by saying that "language is an inseparable part of group identity and a defining characteristic of ethnic and cultural distinction" (1990:144). Language is a mentifact; it is a component of the idealogical subsystem of culture that helps shape the belief system of a society and transmit it to succeeding generations (Fellman, Getis and Getis 1990:126). **Language is what "enables parents to teach their children what the world they live in is like and what they must do to become functioning members of society" (p. 127). Folk tales, myths and legends, which are preserved through oral tradition, often hold the keys to what is expected in a member of society.** The loss of tribal elders brings the threat of losing tribal tradition. Tribes must act now to document and pass on traditional knowledge (ceremonial speeches, oral histories, etc.).

If our ideal is the cultural diversity and pluralistic society, then languages must be preserved. If we lose our language, we lose an important part of our identity and self-concept. When we teach a foreign language, we tell our students not to write a research paper in their own language and then translate it into the language they are studying, because it simply will not work. Students are also told they will not ever speak the language fluently if they do not know the culture. Words will have connotations and related images which cannot be

translated no matter how close the translation may seem to be, simply because the people in the other culture do not have the same worldview, traditions, values and customs. The word yuppie, for example, a young upwardly bound mobile person who is profit oriented; this could be translated in the Bantu language, but without an understanding of the capitalist system, the concept of the "American Dream," along with other aspects of the American worldview, the MBti person could not really understand what a yuppie is. Take another example, kiosk. Europeans know exactly what a kiosk is because they can be found on every street corner and are the place to go in the morning on the way to work to get the daily paper and some munchies to eat on the train or on the metro. To an American, a kiosk may be a type of display used for selling a product, which is somewhat different from the European counterpart. Apple pie brings up memories of Mother, warmth, good smells, tradition and the good "ole United States of America." It is easy to translate apple pie into other languages: mesiiminii iskopaaki pahkwesikani (apple sweet bread, Kickapoo) or tarte aux pommes (French). These translations, however, do not carry the same image that Americans have.

If a native language dies out, it becomes very difficult to convey the unique elements of the culture of that people through another language. Without the Native American languages, the Native American cultures lose those parts of the cultures which are unexplainable through the medium of another language. In the Navajo language, for example, nouns are classified into an eight-tiered (at least) hierarchy which is based on the capacity for having a purpose or intent, intelligence, strength, usefulness, relatedness to humans, or the capacity for motion. When speaking, the higher ranking noun is mentioned first. The structure of the sentence, thus, inherently contains a message about the Navajo worldview which could not be transmitted through the medium of English. The Navajo people call themselves diné and the expression is usually translated into English as "the people." Diné means more than that. There are several levels of meaning for diné. On one level, the terms refers to Navajo people; on another level, it refers to Navajo men (as opposed to women); still on another level, it refers to younger Navajo men (as opposed to older men) (Witherspoon 1977:97). When translated into English in this way, we would assume that a certain amount of importance is placed on men and being young. However, this is not the case. Instead, the Navajo perceive the elders as being the most knowledgeable and as being very valuable to their people, and the Navajo have historically been known for having a very egalitarian society where women were not considered to be below men. This is a potent example of what can happen when a concept is translated into another language, because, in this case, exactly the opposite of what a non-Navajo would infer is true.

One might say that these are just words and that they can be borrowed and mixed into the English language and still transmit the same ideas to the Navajo people; out of the context of the language, however, the words lose much of their original meaning. What about the sentence structure which contains the key to the Navajo ordering of the universe? Maybe the Navajo could use a special form of English with altered sentence structures which could still convey

this part of their worldview. This is absurd when their own language serves their needs best. These phenomena shown with the Navajo language are not unique to that language; they occur with every language where an attempt is made to translate the ideas of one culture into the language of another culture. Culture cannot be fully or properly transmitted in any language but the native language of that culture. Haviland states that "losing linguistic identity is the worst and final evidence of discrimination and subjugation" (1990:144). [The tragedy of the Compulsory Indian Education Law of 1887 is already known to all of us (see for example, Raymond Locke 1976)].

Language should exist as a natural phenomenon and should not have to justify itself or maintain a position of self-defense (Roberts and Williams 1972:505). The major factors which contributed to the "decay" of the Native American languages, such as increased contact with the majority American culture, the forced "Americanization" education of Native American children in the past, the absence of written literatures in the native languages, television and radio, cannot be removed. Their effects, however, might be curbed through effective language programs where there is motivation, positive attitudes from peers and parents, and high expectations and positive attitudes from teachers. These are identified as required for successful learning (Titone 1983:282).

The following information is exemplary of tribal justifications for requesting federal financial assistance to support language preservation:

Example One: The Bad River Dialect of the Ojibwe (Chippewa) Language is in grave danger of being lost forever if not preserved within the next few years. Only fifteen or so fluent speakers remain and most are over seventy years of age. The preservation and renewal of culture, religious ceremonies and oral tradition is totally dependent on preservation and renewal of the language. The degree of language loss in the community has been due mainly to Boarding and Parochial School policies of corporal punishment to children for speaking their native language. Since that time many elders have mistakenly felt that their children would be better off without learning their language. After all, they did not wish to see their children punished as they were. It has been discovered that one of the most serious problems in Indian Education is the lack of self identity, a knowledge of self by Indian students. This often causes low self-esteem and identity crisis, known factors contributing to failure of Indian students to achieve at "normal" levels. Preservation of the language and the attendant culture will provide children as well as adults with the identity, pride and self-esteem they need to properly function biculturally. Passage of the Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 has brought about a revival of culture and the need for preservation of the language. Many younger people have been deprived of the language and culture, they have a great hunger and need for knowledge as passed down by the elders. Since all sacred ceremonies are carried out in the Ojibwe Language,

not to know the language is to be left out. (Emphasis added, Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, 1992).

Example Two: Indian people have lived on this continent for thousands of years. Almost every tribe believes that they were placed here or given this land by the Creator for their people to live according to the tradition they were also given. The traditions of Indian people have served them well; allowing them to survive and overcome extreme hardship and change, many of which were the result of destructive government policies. The strength to survive has often been attributed to their understanding of the part they play in the creation and the responsibility they feel to the coming generations. That understanding and ceremonies is communicated through the language. Language contains the beliefs of a people and creates the environment and understanding of the world. Already our language has been lost to two generations. It remains only with our grandparents and great-grandparents. As time claims each elder, our language slips further from us (Oneida Tribe Of Indians Of Wisconsin, 1992).

Lack of self-identity is devastating, and leaves us in a sea of despair. All parts of our lives are effected including health, education and socio-economic status.

The Indian Nations At Risk Task Force which was chartered in 1990 by the U.S. Department of Education and charged with studying the status of Native education in the United States issued a report and recommendations for improving the quality of educational institutions and the academic performance of Native students. The Task Force issued "Indian Nations At Risk: An Educational Strategy for Action" which reported that as many as 35% and in some places 50-60% of American Indian/Alaskan Native students leave school early; the National Center for Education Statistics (1989) Dropout Rates in the United States, High School and Beyond data shows that Native students have the highest high school dropout rate in the nation, as follows: Natives 36%; Hispanics 28%; Blacks 22%; Whites 15% and Asians 8%. The "American Indian/Alaska Natives Dropout Study 1991" issued by the National Education Association reports that it is difficult to determine the reasons that American Indian/Alaska Native students dropout of school because many students may give a reason out of convenience when in reality there may be complicated multiple factors contributing to their decisions. Reasons students give typically include: boredom with school, problems with other students, retention by absenteeism, non-relevance of school, problems at home, noncaring attitudes, difficulty with classes and lack of parent encouragement.

Not surprisingly then, the percentage of our students enrolling in and succeeding in institutions of higher education is extremely low, as presented in the following tables:

ENROLLMENT IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 1988

ETHNICITY	POPULATION	%
White, non-Hispanic	10,274,000	78.8
Black, non-Hispanic	1,111,000	8.5
Hispanic	667,000	5.1
Asian or Pacific Islander	491,000	3.8
American Indian/Alaska Native	92,000	0.7
Non-resident Alien	409,000	3.1
ALL INSTITUTIONS	13,043,000	100.0

Source: U.S. Department of Education, NCES, "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data Systems (IPEDS), "Fall Enrollment, 1988" survey.

FIRST PROFESSIONAL DEGREES CONFERRED BY AMERICAN INDIAN/ALASKA NATIVES COMPARED WITH ALL STUDENTS For Selected Years

YEAR	TOTAL DEGREES CONFERRED	AI/AN's RECEIVING DEGREES	PERCENT RCVD BY AI/AN's*
1988-89	70,758	268	.38%
1986-87	71,617	304	.42%
1984-85	75,057	248	.33%
1980-81	71,340	192	.27%
1978-79	68,503	216	.32%

Source: National Advisory Council on Indian Education, "Toward the Year 2000: Listening to the Voice of Native America", 17th Annual Report to the United States Congress, Fiscal Year 1990.

*These figures present an even starker picture considering that Native Americans represent over 1% of the U.S. population; Native Americans consistently account for less than 1/2 of a percent of degrees conferred in the United States.

The March 25, 1992, "Journal of the American Medical Association" reports some disturbing statistics from a survey entitled "American Indian-Alaska Native Youth Health." According to the report, American Indian-Alaska Native youth experienced a greater frequency of drug abuse, depression, suicide, and alcoholism than their non-Native counterparts. The report contends that suicide deaths among American Indian-Alaska Native youth are more than two times that among other groups the same age in the United States. The

survey was conducted in Alaska, New Mexico, South Dakota, Minnesota, Tennessee, Montana and Arizona and included 13,454 respondents from seventh through twelfth grades. The results of the survey are saddening, but not surprising when looking at conditions among Native American communities. One community in particular was documented in the Anchorage Daily News special report, "A People in Peril." In sixteen months, from March 21, 1985 to June 25, 1986, the Yupik Eskimo village of Alakanuk, Alaska experienced the loss of eight individuals to suicide. All of the victims were under the age of 29, the youngest being 17. In addition to the eight suicides, Alakanuk had four drownings, one death from illness and two murders within the same sixteen month period. Alakanuk's population is only 550! The situation in Alaknuk is not particularly unique. The 180 or so Native villages in Alaska are experiencing the devastating effects of culture change resulting from contacts with the outside world. As common in other parts of the United States, the most devastating blow to Alaska Native cultures came when Native children were conscripted to attend boarding schools hundreds of miles away from their homes and their traditional ways of life. This mass removal of Native children had the direct effect of separating them from the older generations who are the traditional educators in the native communities. Even after the elimination of boarding schools and establishment of public schools, the gap between the traditional and Western technological worlds continues to widen. We believe that the problems reported in the medical journal and elsewhere are some overt manifestations of this gap. Many Native American adolescents are caught between the two worlds and many report a sense of hopelessness for their future. Social customs have begun to change to accommodate the presence of "The Simpsons" and other TV families. One notable effect is the less frequent use of the Native languages, and the younger generation's loss of understanding their ancestral languages. Many young people today will more readily identify with television celebrities than with their elders.

Robert J. Wells (1991) conducted a survey in 1990. Questionnaires were distributed to 511 Native American leaders and 227 (44%) responded. Wells found that: 92% of Native American children attend public schools; only 8% attend BIA or tribally-run schools; 52% who enter schools graduate (some of the reasons tribal leaders gave for this included lack of motivation and lack of incentives); 62% of the respondents answered that 25% or less of high school graduating seniors enroll in 2-or 4-year colleges; 48% of the schools these children attend do not have Indian teachers; 70% of Indian children attend schools where native languages are not offered; 48% of the schools do not offer Indian cultures or histories; 34% of Indians are present on school boards in which the majority of students are Indians; and 82% of tribes place education as either the highest or among the highest tribal goals.

Substance abuse among American Indians remains a persistent and tragic concern (Baker, 1977; Burns, 1981; Pedigo, 1983, Snake, Hawkins, & La Boueff, 1976). A 1988 report from the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census indicates that the American

Indian population increased at the growth rate of approximately 73% from 1970 to 1980; tragically, as the population continues to increase, the substance abuse problem also continues to increase. The surveys of Beauvais and others over the past 10 to 15 years have shown that American Indian youth have higher rates of alcohol and drug usage than their non-Indian counterparts (Beauvais, Oetting, Wolf, & Edwards, 1989). Other evidence has shown that problem drinking is quite prevalent among adolescents and even among younger Indian children (Beauvais and Oetting, & Edwards, 1985). Weibel-Orland (1984) has also shown that the problem of substance abuse among American Indian adolescents is great. Furthermore, it has worsened in many areas in the last two decades. She indicated that the trend toward a younger age of onset, and an increasingly rapid escalation of drug use was a continuing phenomena among American Indian youth. Beauvais and Oetting (1986) have found that drug use is higher in all categories for Indian young people, but marijuana, inhalants and stimulants show particularly high-use rates. Oetting and Goldstein (1979) have found evidence that American Indians begin abusing various substances at a younger age than their Anglo counterparts. Outpatient visits to the Indian Health Service numbered drug abuse/dependence problems as the fourth most frequent problem (Rhodes et al., 1980).

One effective solution to these problems lies in S. 2044. Language and cultural preservation activities that revitalize tribal traditions build self-esteem, which makes the community members better able to resist problems such as dropping out of school, substance abuse and suicide.

Watahomigie and Yamamoto (1987) report that the changing attitudes towards children's native languages have had a positive impact on the children's view of their self-concept, achievements at school, and their view of their own future. We must begin our language and culture education as early as preschool. As many research results show (e.g., Cummins 1981, Leap & Cissna 1984, Crawford 1986), children whose first language was encouraged to develop showed notable advantage in learning English (their second language). Literacy in the first language was proven to transfer to the second language. The Native American Languages Act can serve as a catalyst for changing attitudes, particularly in public schools where Native American languages have long been regarded as a hindrance to quality education. The prevailing notion has long been that learning a native language before learning English will prevent a full understanding of the language of the American educational institution. While this seems to boast common sense view, studies have demonstrated that a strong foundation in a first language makes learning a second language easier rather than harder.

Summary

Most entities view preservation as place-orientated; tribes view preservation holistically "a humanistic way of life". A way of life on a continuum from past lives to present and into the future. Native American languages are unique to this continent. If they become extinct, they

will be gone forever. Such uniqueness is relevant not only from the enrichment of scientific knowledge, but also from a human point of view.

The knowledge gained from the study of North American Indian languages and cultures contributed to the development and enrichment of American anthropology and linguistics, as Native American cultures and languages have provided these fields with a body of data that had not been seen before in Indo-European languages and cultures. Native Americans have given us diversity, diversity of languages, cultures, worldviews, values and ethos.

CONGRESSIONAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF NEED

The United States Congress has acknowledged the tremendous preservation needs of Native Americans through a plethora of laws and implementing regulations over the past decades. Current assistance programs for Native Americans involve a myriad of federal agencies, including the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Education, the Department of the Interior, etc. Most recently, Congress took an important step towards language preservation with the passage of the Native American Languages Act of 1990; Presidential Proclamation 6407 of March 2, 1992, A Proclamation, Year of the Indian, 1992, provides Executive Branch acknowledgment of Native American contributions to the United States.

From the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 to the Presidential Proclamation of 1992, Native American people have run the gammet of Federal recognition and subsequent regulations. The Native American Languages Act of 1991 (S. 2204) is the first piece of legislation that singularly focuses on the importance of preserving the rich resource of Native American languages and provides the financial means to ensure the preservation, protection, and promotion of these languages. Congress is to be commended for designating tribal control over the preservation of their respective languages in S. 2044; it is tribes' sovereign right and responsibility to preserve and protect their languages.

INADEQUATE FINANCIAL RESOURCES

There is currently no comprehensive Federal program designed to assist Native Americans with the preservation of their languages. No Federal assistance program is directed specifically to all aspects of the preservation of Native Languages. Tribes, in effect compete for preservation funds, often find themselves in situations where they must exercise the greatest creativity in order to describe their efforts in terms that meet the priorities established by granting agencies.

The National Park Service (N. P. S.) provides funds for "preservation"; however, language is only one component within the "preservation" activities. Additionally, N. P. S. funds Indian Tribes only; Indian organizations are not eligible applicants. N. P. S. funds are inadequate

based on the number of applications submitted annually from Tribes. For example, for Fiscal Year 1992, National Park Service received 183 applications totaling $5,973,000; N. P. S. was able to fund an estimated 38 preservation projects totaling $900,000. Of the 183 submissions, 97 (53%) addressed language issues, representing 75% ($3,159,456) of the total funds requested; of the 97 language-related submissions, only 19 were funded.

The Department of Health and Human Resources, Administration for Children and Families, Administration for Native Americans (ANA) provides financial assistance designed to strengthen the self-sufficiency of Native American tribes and organizations through support of social and economic development strategies (SEDS) and the strengthening of local governance capabilities. ANA program and policy are based on three goals:

1) **Governance**--to exercise local control and decision-making over tribal resources;
2) **Economic Development**--to develop stable, diversified local economies to provide jobs, promote economic well-being, and reduce dependency on public funds and social services; and
3) **Social Development**--to support local access to, control of, and coordination of services to safeguard the health and well-being of people, and which are essential to a thriving and self-sufficient community.

ANA has funded four "cultural centers"; although language is generally considered to be a part of culture, it is our understanding that language is not the major focus of ANA-funded cultural center objectives. ANA regulations stipulate that tribes cannot have more than one ANA grant at a time; unfortunately, tribes are then forced to choose between the three ANA goals. Economic development is essential for survival; therefore, tribes are basically forced to choose between governance, economic development and social development (which includes language). Few, if any tribes, have the luxury of opting for social development; instead, the major focus is economic development.

Based on the foregoing information there is a wide gap between current financial resources for language preservation and the need for assistance; NALA can dramatically narrow that gap.

NALI wishes to express support of existing Native American federal financial assistance programs. Overall, these programs provide much-needed services and benefits to Native American people. We, therefore, respectfully request that existing Native American federal financial assistance programs and supporting appropriations be held harmless, and that the funding for S. 2044 be derived from other federal sources.

SUMMARY

The need for S. 2044 is best summarized in the findings from the 1990 Keepers of the Treasures report cited earlier (p. 167):

> "American Indian tribes have as a common goal the retention, preservation, and enhancement of their cultural heritage. Over the last 500 years Indian cultures have experienced massive destruction, but the tide is changing. Indian tribes are using their limited resources to halt the loss of language, tradition, religion, objects, and sites.
>
> Halting the loss is not enough, however. Indian tribes are living cultures, fundamentally different in character from other components of American society, that can continue and be strengthened only through the perpetuation of their traditions. Tribes, therefore are re-introducing ceremonies, teaching languages, and seeking the return and culturally appropriate treatment of tribal objects and the remains of their ancestors.
>
> These activities are not perpheral to tribal life; they are basic to healthy contemporary tribal societies. From a tribal perspective, the "Keepers of the Treasures" hold not only the keys to the tribal past, but the keys to the tribal future.
>
> The retention, preservation, and enhancement of the cultural heritage of American Indian tribes requires adequate and stable funding from multiple sources. As important, however, is the development of a comprehensive policy within which financial and technical assistance can be provided to tribes in a manner that respects and reinforces tribal values".

Language provides the basis for preserving cultural heritage; many Native languages have been lost and most are dangerously close to extinction. Since language is an effective means of identity--self as well as group identity--loss of one's language impacts all aspects of life. The loss of Native American languages severs the passing on of traditions, understanding of worldview of those linguistic communities, and exercising their religious rites which form the backbone of the communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

NALI respectfully makes the following recommendations related to the specific provisions in S. 2044 and the funding level.

S. 2044 Specific Provision Recommendations

Section 803B:

(b) (1)--construction should be considered a subordinate activity; the primary activities should directly support the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages;

(b) (5)--the scope of communication should be expanded to: "produce or participate in mass media technological communications in their native languages".

(d)(2)--an addition should be made to allow for a "waiver of non-Federal share" in accordance with 45 CFR 1336.50 (b) (3) of the Native American Program Regulations.

(e)--the administration of the S. 2044 grant programs should be autonomous within the Administration for Native Americans; S. 2044 grant programs should be awarded on a competitive basis with no restrictions on prior or current funding status.

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES ACT OF 1991, S. 2044
FUNDING RECOMMENDATIONS
FY 93

At the very core of preservation from the perspective of American Indian tribes is the retention and use of languages. Native American cultures are living traditional cultures in which the past is transmitted orally from one generation to the next. Information about the past, about the spiritual, ceremonial, and natural worlds is passed through language. Without language, cultures are irreparably damages. Language is the "living" part of history which is as important as the "inanimate" artifactual part of history.

NALI therefore recommends that the Native American Languages Act of 1991 be provided funding at a level consistent with that requested for the National Museum of the American Indian, $15,599,000 for FY '93. NALI also recommends that this amount be allocated for each of the subsequent years of authorization.

This funding level could support six Language Centers with a $500,000 minimum annual grant allocation per center. These "Centers" should be strategically located based on the linguistic needs and characteristics of the Native-American-Alaskan Native, and Native Hawaiian in the United States.

It is estimated that the potential "applicant pool" for Native American Languages Act grants exceeds 700 entities; the recommended annual funding level could support approximately 180-200 individual one to five year grants (ranging from $65,000 to $200,000) over the five years authorized.

The following recommendations address the procedural administration of NALA:

1) Establishment of a National NALA Advisory Council to advise ANA (the designated administrative agency) in the development and implementation of NALA policies and procedures. In addition to a representative from the U.S. House, the U.S. Senate and a Presidential appointee, Advisory Council members could be solivited from organizations such as NALI, Keepers of the Treasurers, National Indian Education Association, and National Congress of the American Indian and like organizations which represent multi-tribal memberships;

2) ANA receive a maximum of 10% of the total NALA appropriation for administrative costs: and

3) the maximum amount allowable for indirect cost be set at 25% for all NALA grantees.

On behalf of NALI, I respectfully request that this testimony, including recommendations, the NALI resolution and references be entered into the official record of this hearing.

INTERNATIONAL NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE ISSUES NALI INSTITUTE

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NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES ACT of 1991 (S. 2044)

THE NALI INSTITUTE SERVES TO EXAMINE NATIVE LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL CONCERNS AND TO EXCHANGE IDEAS AND PROVIDE DIRECTION FOR THE CONTINUAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL ISSUES IN THE AMERICAS

TO ESTABLISH A GRANT PROGRAM TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND CONTINUING VITALITY OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

WHEREAS, the unique status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is analogous to that of native and endemic species in the United States, and the United States has the responsibility to act together with indigenous Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages;

WHEREAS, the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their culture, traditional heritage, and identity, such languages forming the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values;

WHEREAS, there is convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride and educational opportunity is clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child or student;

WHEREAS, acts of suppression and extermination directed against Native American languages and cultures have often been premised on bases incompatible with the United States policy of self-determination for Native Americans;

WHEREAS, Native American languages and cultures in their own homelands, principle settlements and reservations have been restricted, banned and, in some cases, exterminated.

WHEREAS, languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival and protection of cultural and political integrity of any peoples; and

EXECUTORS: Shirley Brown • Harlene Green • Doris Beleele • Patricia Locke • Carl Downing • Glenda Barrett
LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION: Patricia Locke • Joan Wehkamigad • Verna Graves

WHEREAS, languages provide a direct and powerful means by which individuals contribute to societies;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT NALI FULLY SUPPORTS NALA '91 (S.2044) WHICH ESTABLISHES GRANT PROGRAMS TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND CONTINUING VITALITY OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES.

Shirley Brown Harlene Green Doris Beleele

Patricia Locke Carl Downing Glenda Barrett

Akira Yamamoto

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF TROY ANDERSON

COQUILLE INDIAN TRIBE

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Personal Background

I am an enrolled member of the Coquille Indian Tribe. The Coquille are the last tribe restored by Congress Public Law 101-42, June 28, 1989. I am also an officer of the Coquille Cultural Committee, that has as its first priority, the teaching of traditional customs and language, Miluk.

I am a graduate of Stanford University.. I hold a B.A. in Linguistics and an M.A. in Anthropology, in which I focused on linguistics. My master's thesis for Anthropology was to create a Miluk dictionary. I spent four years compiling all known Coquille language resources and concordancing texts into a word list, which serves as a rudimentary dictionary. The purpose of this word list is to be the foundation from which to build a Miluk grammar.

Tribal Interest in the Project

While I was writing my master's thesis, I was encouraged by many of my fellow tribal members to reteach our language. As a member of my tribe's cultural committee I can attest that the interest in learning our ancestral language is exceptional, especially now that our tribe has been reinstated by Congress. Revitalizing the language, together with the reteaching of many of the tribe's customs, will be a great start toward restoring our tribe's identity.

At this time plans are being drawn for the construction of a cultural center for the Coquille tribe, that could be used as a center for language study for my tribe and other tribes as well. Our goal is to make use of current technology to both facilitate students of their native language and linguists working on grammar reconstruction and production of teaching materials.

Future Prospects for Miluk

Recently, I have met with IBM to discuss the possibilities of using multimedia technology to both develop a grammar and create superior teaching aids for the tribe. The prospects are fantastic.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Through the use of high-resolution video, digital audio, and faster throughput speeds for computers, all the hours once spent shuffling through different mediums of a recorded language (text, tape, etc...) now can be combined into a cohesive and efficient whole via the computer. This means that the linguist can spend more time working on the problems inherent in creating a grammar, instead of pure grunt work of arranging all the materials he/she has.

The real highlight of this technology is that Indians in a community could be taught by a native speaker who lived over 100 years ago. In my discussions with IBM, I have looked at the possibility of taking the recorded songs and stories of the Coquille from the early '30's and putting them onto CD. This is cutting edge multimedia technology, which has only been available for about six months. Once in a digital format, one has the opportunity to stop recordings on vital grammatical points, play a video to reinforce the learning process to language learners, and could actually use the recordings to promote further language learning and reconstruction.

The Native Languages Act

The timing of this committee's hearing on this topic could not be better. It comes at a great time for my tribe. I firmly believe that once an effective computerized language teaching & research system is in place, and good linguistic support from a participating university is funded, we could accomplish our goals of recreating Miluk, much the same way as Israel has done for Hebrew.

Once we have gotten our system in place and the "bugs" are worked out, we could duplicate our efforts for every tribe in the U.S. that is currently without native speakers and interested in learning their own tribal languages. Personal estimates based on the Handbook of American Indian Languages (Boas & Powell, 1911) would suggest that over 100 native languages have perished in the U.S.. On the Oregon coast alone, there are at least 6 different groups interested in learning their "mother" tongues.[1]

The Coquilles would like to help our neighboring tribes who spoke sister languages of the Penutian family. The Coos, Alsea, Upper Coquille are just a few of the tribes from which I have heard that are interested in learning their own languages.

Necessary Funding

To make this project a success there needs to be adequate start-up funding. I am submitting with this testimony a specific list of projected costs. I believe that in the first year about $120,000 would be required.

1 See Languages in the Americas map

Item	Amount
Language Developing Platforms	
IBM Ultimedia M57 SLC	$5,995.00
ActionMedia II Display Adapter (ISA) Avail. 6/26	$1,995.00
M-Audio Capture & Playback Adapter	$370.00
ActionMedia II Developer's Toolkit	$510.00
Audio Visual Connection v1.04	$544.00
HP ScanJetII	$2,000.00
Total	$11,414.00
Audio/Visual	
Duplication of available sound recordings	$500.00
Retouching of the recordings	$1,000.00
Pressing CDs $1000/disk	$10,000.00
M-Motion Video Capture Adapter/A	$2,250.00
Total	$13,750.00
Language Staff	
Full-time linguist	$30,000.00/yr
2 Part-time linguists	$30,000.00/yr
Total	$60,000.00
Teaching Equipment	
4 each of the following:	
PS/2 Ultimedia M57 SLC	$23,980.00
ActionMedia Playback Adapter	$370.00
Hard Disk Storage 1.2Gb	$2,000.00
Total	$26,350.00
Additional Costs	
Video Equipment	$3,000.00
Computer Supplies	$2,000.00
Other Supplies	$500.00
Total	$5,500.00
Grand Total	**$117,014.00**

The benefit of such a system is that once it is in place it could be used by any trained linguist to work on almost any tribe's language. If, for example, you were to use this system at the Coquille Cultural Center and developed it into a working platform it could then be used to work on the other hundred or more languages without native speakers estimated throughout the country.

I would like to sincerely thank the Senate Select Committee for the opportunity to present the Coquille Indian tribe's language situation.

The Indians of Western Oregon

This Land Was Theirs

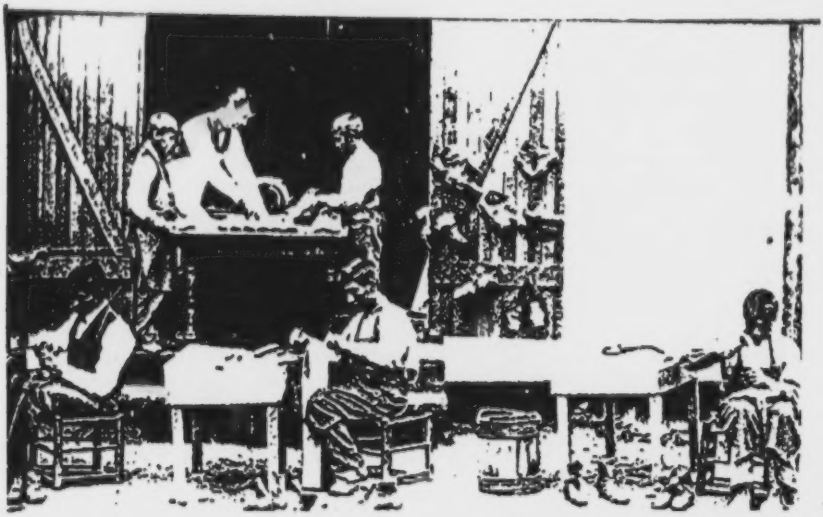
Stephen Dow Beckham
ILLUSTRATED BY CHRISTINA ROMANO

Lower Umpqua, who numbered 460 people, were to start clearing fields, building houses, and growing wheat and potatoes next to the ocean. The crops failed and the Indians starved. Annie Miner Peterson, a Coos woman, later recalled: "We stayed at Yahatc. We lived poorly, we had nothing, we had no food, only just some Indian foods. That is how we lived at Yahatc. The Indians' head man (the agent) did not look after us. We had no clothes, we had to wear any old thing. That is how I grew up."

Basic to the program of "civilization" was education. At Grand Ronde the agent set up the first schools in August, 1856. John Ostrander was teacher for the Rogue River and Umpqua School; Mary Ostrander taught the Kalapuya and Clackamas students. Both teachers found that students, at times, resisted learning to read and write the English language. John Ostrander wrote: "In disposition, the Rogue River Indians are brave, haughty, indolent, and superstitious; they often inquired what we would give them to come to school; they hate confinement and scorn discipline." Mary Ostrander found, however, that the children from the Umpqua and Kalapuya villages were "mild and easily governed." The parents of these children were often very pleased to have them in school.

At Siletz, Grand Ronde, and the Alsea Sub-Agency the school sessions were irregular. Teachers came and went; few stayed more than a year. Sometimes so many students were sick that none came to class. Other times the agent changed the program of education. For a while the teachers taught reading and writing in English. Then the order came to teach manual labor skills. The boys were taken to the blacksmith shop to learn how to shoe horses and oxen, and they were taught to be carpenters. The girls learned how to sew, cook, and clean. At no time did the officials propose setting up an Indian fishing industry or building a cannery on the Siletz, Alsea, or Yaquina rivers on the reservation.

All of the old ways were to be destroyed. Nowhere in the educational program was attention given to the literature, arts, or languages of these Indians. Girls received instruction in crafts which white people liked: they learned how to embroider or sew beads to leather. One of the means to accomplish the destruction of the old culture was to take the children away from their parents and put them in boarding schools either on the reservation or in some distant community. Agent Benjamin Simpson supported this idea in his annual report from Siletz in 1868. "It is evident," he wrote, "that among the Indians physical and mental training must go together, for it is like putting new wine into old bottles to attempt to educate a mind that inhabits a savage body; mind and body must be civilized at the same time, and while the one is being stored with useful knowledge the other must be taught sober, steady, industrious habits; under such a system, not only will the pupils be benefited, but they will con-



By 1865 the Indians on the Coast Reservation worked at the Chasta Scoton Farm, Upper Farm, and Lower Farm.

At both reservations in western Oregon the students attended manual labor classes. The two schools at Grand Ronde were the Umpqua Day School and the Molel Manual Labor School. Young people who finished studies at Siletz and Grand Ronde sometimes went on for more training. Lt. M. C. Wilkinson of the U. S. Army established the Indian Manual Labor Training School in Forest Grove in the spring of 1880. This strict, military-run boarding school enrolled seventy-five students who studied homemaking, carpentry, blacksmith skills, and shoemaking.

Within five years the white residents of Forest Grove had protested so strongly about the "savages" in their town that the school had to move. The new site was a meadow north of Salem, Oregon. The Chemawa Training School became by the late 1880's a well-known place to Indians from throughout the Pacific Northwest. Some Indians who completed their studies at Chemawa went east to study at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School established in 1879 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Many young Indians met their future husbands or wives at Chemawa and thus, over the years, Indians from Siletz and Grand Ronde moved to Umatilla, Klamath, Warm Springs, Yakima or other reservations in the region.

As in the schools on the reservations, instruction in the Indian boarding schools was narrow and focused upon destroying the old culture. In 1887 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued an order to be followed in Indian schools throughout the country: "It is believed that if any Indian vernacular /language/ is allowed to be taught by missionaries in schools on Indian reservations it will prejudice the pupil as well as his parents against the English language . . . . This language which is good enough for a white man or a black man ought to be good enough for the red man. It is also believed that teaching an Indian youth in his own lan-

Repeated white pressure brought the government to cut up the Siletz Reservation. By 1880 Newport had grown up at an old Yaquina Indian village site on Yaquina Bay.

barous dialect is a positive detriment to him. The impractability, if not impossibility, of civilizing the Indians of this country in any other tongue than our own would seem obvious."

As the years passed, the Indians of the Oregon coast waited for action on their treaty. The surviving Tillamook and Clatsop lived in shacks along the beaches and rivers in their old homeland. The rest of the coast Indians resided at Siletz or at the Alsea Sub-Agency. Some Indian women who had married white men stayed on in the lands where they were born. Many taught their children the ways to gather and prepare native foods; sometimes the girls learned basketry from their Indian mothers. Although both boys and girls often learned their mother's language, they usually attended local schools. Always the pressure was to live like the white people.

From time to time the Indian officials in Oregon urged Congress to approve the coast treaty of 1855. In 1864, for example, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington wrote: "their part of the stipulations have all been complied with. They gave up their lands, and they have since been occupied by whites. Common justice requires that some provision be made for them. They have no means of procuring clothing, are not in reach of any market where agricultural products can be sold, and they are consequently discontented, and eager to leave the reservation . . . ."

The reasons for leaving the reservation were many. Some Indians wanted to return home. Many more, however, could not endure the hunger and wretched conditions. The government assistance was always very small; sometimes there was nothing at all. In 1865, for example, the agent at Siletz spent $46.23 per person for each of the 123 Shasta Scotons and Umpquas on the reservations. The 121 Takelma who yet lived each received $18.80 in food and clothing. The remaining 1,824 Indians—all of them without a treaty—got $2.50 each per year in government support. No wonder these Indians tried to run away.

When the Indians left the reservation without a work-pass, which some men could get to chop wood or work for white settlers, the soldiers came after them. Many times the soldiers and the agent set out for southern Oregon to recapture Indians and bring them back to the reservations. In April and May, 1864, soldiers from Fort Yamhill went with the agent to Coos Bay to round up Indians. They captured thirty-two people and headed them back to Yachats. Royal A. Bensell, one of the soldiers on the patrol, became very angry with Indian Agent Amos Harvey. The agent did not have food for the Indians and pushed them on and on along the coast trail. Bensell finally wrote: "Harvey expects the Blind to see, the lame to walk, and all Siwash [Indians] to subsist on nothing."

Little pity was given to Indians who escaped the reservation. An old Coos woman, "Amanda," had a terrible time climbing around Cape Perpetua on the forced march in 1864 back to the Siletz reservation. Bensell noted:

120

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The Amerind family, North and Central America

TESTIMONY

Provided to the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman

FOR THE HEARING
ON
S. 2044 A BILL TO ASSIST IN ASSURING THE SURVIVAL AND CONTINUING VITALITY OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

by:

Tommy C. Yazzie, Superintendent
Joe Yazzie, Governing Board Member of
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June 18, 1992

Yá'át'ééh abini (Good Morning), Chairman Senator Daniel Inouye and members of the Senate select Committee on Indian Affairs.

We are happy that you are sponsoring hearings on the Native Languages, in accordance with S. 2044.

We would like to take this opportunity to advocate for funds and resources which American Indian tribes need to develop their languages - for instruction, curriculum development, teacher training, lexicographic and other linguistic development activities.

Indian languages are the strongest bond that welds Indian societies together. Language is integrally connected to thought and to experience. It is clear that the development of thinking and language go together, and that both revolve around experiences.

"Language ... the complex system of rules and symbols through which we communicate, acquire and generate knowledge, express a myriad of human emotions, and influence the world around us . . . Language embodies reality and is the carrier of the world." - (Frank Smith, 1994)

Experiences and thoughts are embedded in our complex social and cultural environment. Our native language is deeply rooted in our natural environment and ecosystem.

In everyday conversation, we rely on visual images, gestures, facial expressions, and other aspects of direct, concrete experiences to make sense of the world we live in. It shows in shared patterns of behavior, material artifacts, institutions, beliefs, attitudes and values. Our traditional songs, prayers, and chants are carefully designed to communicate to the spirit world our petition for daily subsistence, good health and harmonious relations with the four legged creatures and, the Five Fingered Peoples.

Moral and ethical conduct are integrated into the religious ceremonies to secure economic harmony through the blessings of abundant resources. Hardship and abundance are a natural order of gifts from the spirits. It is through the observance of social, economic, natural and religious laws that Man is accorded certain rights and responsibilities to live a life of service to all that is living.

The goals of private and public institutions must empower societies to protect and maintain the uniqueness of cultures. Senate Bill 2044 "Native American Language act of 1991" is such a device to allow the continuation of Native languages.

It is well established that Native American Indians are at the bottom quarter of every statistical measurement designed to compare sub-populations: school dropout, school failure, teen pregnancy, infant

mortality rates, suicide, poverty levels, diseases, etc. These are symtons of things that are in disharmony in American Indian communities since European contact.

Native American Indians have a rich cultures. Cultures that nurture independence, freedom and love of life. Native Languages have provided a sense of identity and connectedness to the rest of the world: economic, political, social and environmentally. The purpose of Life gives meaning to our existence here on earth in this ecosystem.

Native peoples now live under the United States Government under the umbrella of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). This arm of the Interior provides for the education and social welfare of our people.

Many Indian tribe have surrendered to the U.S. Government sealing sacred covenants called "treaties" guaranteeing education for future generations of Indian children. For many years federal and state schools practiced a policy of education that takes away the language to assimilate Indian cultures. It is through this process that federal policy eradicated many tribal languages. The very essence of self worth and dignity lies in our Native Languages. The fabric of our social systems is connected to our expression and thought. The complex philosophy of balanced harmony with life gives substance to our existence.

During the past two decades the federal government has adopted a policy of cultural pluralism, with the emphasis on education for cultural and linguistic preservation. The orientation toward cultural pluralism is sustained by three government measures enacted between 1967 and 1975 - The Bilingual Education Act, the Indian Education Act, the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act - that provide support and money for bilingual education and for Indian direction and responsibility for the design of their own educational programs.

Today, there are Native peoples that are biliterate, bilingual and bicultural, whose knowledge and wisdom is rapidly disappearing. The future generation must share in this knowledge and wisdom. The world can benefit from the Indian people's view of 'oneness' with nature to slow the rapid depletion and wasteful destruction of our natural resources. This view requires a complete understanding of the Indian's awe and respect for all living things.

To effectively implement the provisions of S. 2044, we have established the proposition that funding should be made available to practitioners: Tribal Government, Institution of Higher Learning and local schools to plant innovative ideas for language learning. This mechanism directs funds closest to the existence of problems. This belief rests on the premise that Indians know best the solutions to their own problems.

Community based schools and organizations will be afforded opportunities to cultivate the Indian Children's languages and culture as a foundation for success in mainstream America. Language is at the very center of the child's development and sense of self, it is absolutely necessary for the schools interested in language development to consider all major aspects of the child's growth, development, and daily home life.

The goals of the schools should be to empower children to take charge of their learning, thereby gaining the life-long skills necessary to make the appropriate and proper decision for their future (decision-making). Allow children the freedom to explore, analyze, critically evaluate and through this, to make positive life choices.

The Native American child - any child - lives in a special environment that is shaped by the people around him or her and by the political restrictions and opportunities that affect these people. This environment must be nurtured by the "traditional" family as an institution for survival.

The Indian family unit have deteriorated much more rapidly than the rest of the world. It is hoped that language development will bring back the cultivation and nurturance of Native Languages. This process is best done in an environment of family: father, mother, brothers, sisters and grandparents (maternal and paternal).

Knowledge in the curricula should be generated, organized, applied, analyzed, synthesized, and assessed by thinking. Every Indian child should learn and be given the opportunities to puzzle their way to knowledge and explore its justification. Learning for all Indian children must happen within the parameters of their cultural setting and compared and contrasted to the American social setting. In the formulation of ideas about similarities, disparities and contrasts, he should ask why? Students must be able to relate this information to their own experiences, develop and express in their own terms, important ideas about human behavior. The forming and re-shaping of ideas should be a continual process. Higher Order Thinking Skills (critical thinking, creative thinking, substantive thinking, problem-solving, metacognition) become tools to engage in thinking that leads to generalization and conclusions about life.

Knowledge and truth are rarely transmitted from one person to another by the transmitters verbal statement along, one can only facilitate the conditions under which people learn for themselves by figuring out or thinking about thought. Students come to conclusions by practicing reasoning historically, geographically, scientifically, etc.

Knowledge, abilities, values, principles and subsequent behaviors are complimentary of the Indian societies, not separable parts.

Our current educational paradigm emphasizes basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic without thinking. Reading tests provide comprehension questions requiring recall of random details. We assume that students have no questions typically are learning well, while students with a lot of questions are experiencing difficulty in learning; that doubt and questioning weaken belief.

The organization of knowledge in Navajo comes from "Nił ch'ih" as the sources of thinking and breathing. The exercise of the mind is directly related to human spirituality and matter in the cardinal points. To fully realize intellectual capacity, the learner must come to terms with the source of his essence - his maker, father, God - that supreme Being that is the source of Life. Truth and knowledge is truly the basis for long life and happiness (Sa'ah naaghâl dóó bik'eh hózhó) - W. Aronilth (1991).

SUMMARY

Today, Indians are making gains in all aspect of Indian education. With increased control, school boards are recruiting qualified Indian school administrators and teachers to facilitate learning for the future generation that will lead the Indian Nations in the next century.

The future of Indian Nations depends on an educated and sophisticated work force capable of dealing with a fast-paced, and technical environment but with limited resources. The social fabric of Indian life is also changing, adapting and always exploring new technology. However, the Indian Nations must learn to preserve that which is scarce, precious and unique. The language, culture and natural resources are gifts of the Creator to be used wisely. Our languages are the strongest bond that welds Indian society together, therefore, our survival depends on our language.

We strongly urge Members of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs to amend S. 2044 to allow Community Schools and Institutions of Higher Education funding to perpetrate Native Languages. In addition, we urge your continued support for American Indian programs.

Yá'áłééh dóó ahé'hee'

National Congress of American Indians

Est. 1944

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Statement of

The National Congress of American Indians

on S.2044, the Native American Languages Act

Presented by:

Michael J. Anderson, NCAI Executive Director

Before:

Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

July 18, 1992

Good Morning, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. My name is Michael Anderson, and I am Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). On behalf of NCAI, I am very pleased to be here before the Committee today to convey NCAI's strong support for enactment of S.2044, the Native American Languages Act. I have attached NCAI Resolution #SF-91-36 which supports both S.2044 and S.1591, the Alaska Native Language Act. The resolution was adopted at the NCAI 48th Annual Convention in San Francisco, held during December 2-6, 1991.

As the Committee knows, NCAI is an intertribal organization representing over 140 American Indian and Alaska Native tribes throughout the United States. As NCAI's resolution states, the preservation and enhancement of native languages is critical to the preservation of American Indian culture and religious freedom. At the same time, however, today we are losing our languages with frightening speed. Our languages must be preserved not for reference in studying past history, but for our future as Indian people.

NCAI supports S.2044, which would provide a separate grant program within the Administration for Native Americans from which applicants would apply for funding for activities meant to enhance and preserve the use of Native languages. NCAI also supports an amendment making institutions of higher learning eligible for language enhancement and preservation grants. S.2044 would provide for implementation of the United States' policy of protecting Native languages as articulated in P.L.100-477, the Native American Languages

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Act. S.2044 is congruent with the goal of a goal in the report issued by the Department of Education, in the publication, "Indian Nations At Risk: An Educational Strategy for Action", which stated:

By the year 200 all schools will offer Native students the opportunity to maintain and develop their tribal languages and will create a multicultural environment that enhances the many cultures represented in the school.

Federal Policies of Language Eradication/Assimilation

At one point in time, the number of distinct Indian languages spoken in the Americas numbered at least 2,200. Today, it is estimated that approximately 100 Indian languages are used. The languages have persisted despite official efforts to eradicate them, particularly during the 1920's as a result of the government-sponsored boarding schools, which is the greatest sociological reason for the loss of Native languages. Language loss is directly attributable to the policies of termination and assimilation which were practiced by the federal government and forced onto Indian people. Nearly every Indian person here today can relate stories of their parents or grandparents being beaten or otherwise punished for speaking in their Native language at federal boarding schools. While no Member of Congress would dare defend such heinous policies from generations ago, no Member can possibly deny that Indian people are still living with the damage resulting from those policies today. It used to be commonplace for Indian people to discourage their children from learning or using their Native languages. In several tribal communities, even as of very recently there still existed a reluctance to incorporate native language within education curriculum because of an underlying skepticism that using Native languages may somehow be harmful. In this new age of multiculturalism, however, tribal communities are finding that non-Indian society is encouraging learning and use of Native languages. Tribes are actively seeking educators who are proficient in their language, and promoting the use of curriculum which incorporates language learning skills.

Native Languages Today as Living Cultures

In the broader spectrum of historic preservation programs, most circles in American society are concerned with preserving historic properties. Few people outside of a limited archeology circle are concerned with protecting and preserving living cultures, simply because the need to preserve living cultures today is negligible. The one exception is Native American living culture. While the living cultures and traditions of the majority of ethnic communities in the United States today are thriving, both in practice and in public acceptance, Native American living cultures are being lost on a daily basis and societal knowledge of Native American traditions is extremely limited. With each death of an elder on any given Indian reservation, Indian people are further deprived of not only their history but their future. Language preservation is intrinsic to the preservation of Native Americans' distinctive way of life.

1. Language and Education

Educators are also finding that the most successful students are fluent in both English and

their Native language, as it takes higher level thinking skills to process one language into another. The children who learn English language skills the most quickly and are more successful in school overall are those children who are users of their Native language. The Indian Nations at Risk Report found that schools that respect and support a student's language and culture are significantly more successful in educating those students. It further cited the following under Research and Good Practice:

1. Language is the base for intellectual development and for transmitting that knowledge.

2. The language base is strongly influenced, or significantly set, by age three.

3. Students must establish language competence in order to develop their academic and intellectual skills. Learning standard English is essential for school success.

4. The language providing the greatest potential for intellectual development is the language reinforced in both the school and the home.

5. Bilingual or multilingual children have a greater opportunity to develop their analytical and conceptual skills than monolingual children.

6. Use of the language and culture of the community served by schools forms an important base from which children are educated.

7. If a Native language is to be retained for use and continued development, it must be used in the home and reinforced in the schools.

2. Language and Health and Well-Being

With the growing loss of Native languages, the ability to practice Native religions, teach and preserve Native histories, traditions and values also decreases. Other problems attributed to loss of self-identity, such as astronomical alcoholism, substance abuse and suicide rates among young Indian people, have been directly linked to limited youth awareness of their cultures, history and traditions, all of which are passed on through Native language. A recent study by the University of Minnesota showed that self-identity directly correlated to mental health in our youth. We need to promote cultural preservation from the community level, utilizing whatever means are appropriate and consistent with current community values. Studies have proven what tribal health and social welfare program managers have known for many decades - that non-Indian mainstream treatment programs for substance abuse and mental health programs simply do not work. This appears to be true across the board. Healing programs for Indian people which build treatment programs around cultural and traditional values, practices and religions, however, are showing marked success across Indian country.

3. Language and Preservation of Community and Family Values

President Bush and Vice President Quayle have both strongly endorsed and believe that we can remedy many of our social and economic ills through reinforcement of strong community

and family values. NCAI agrees with this theory, but again notes that for Indian tribes and people, these community values are primarily reinforced and transmitted through native languages. Language is in itself a way of valuing. Every culture's language represents what it values, and to promote the use of a language will automatically enhance those cultural values that the tribe or community finds worthwhile. The pattern is the following: Language represents what we value, and how we label something it how we value it. Because many of our youth cannot label themselves, they may lack self-identity and follow along the path of self-destruction.

Conclusion

NCAI strongly supports S.2044, and notes that in the attached NCAI resolution commends both Senator Inouye and Senator Murkowski for taking the lead in developing this legislation for the future of all Indian people. In the few months left in this Congress, it is NCAI's hope that this legislation will enjoy swift passage and be enacted into law before Congress adjourns for the year. Thank you for inviting NCAI to present this testimony, and I would be pleased to answer any questions at this time.

National Congress of American Indians

Est. 1944

"The 90's: A NEW FEDERALISM ON OUR TERMS"

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SP-91-36

RESOLUTION CALLING FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

WHEREAS, the Indian and Native Governments and people have gathered in San Francisco, California, for the 48th Annual Convention of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in order to promote the common interests and welfare of American Indian and Alaskan Native peoples; and

WHEREAS, NCAI is the oldest and largest national organization representative of and advocate for national, regional, and local tribal concerns; and

WHEREAS, the preservation and enhancement of native languages is critical to the preservation of American Indian culture and religious freedom. The ability to communicate with the Creator in our Indian languages is vital to our heritage and to our future. We are the people responsible to the earth, and our languages reflect a relationship that has existed for at least 70,000 years.

WHEREAS, the Native American Languages Act has not been funded by Congress to achieve the objectives of that legislation.

WHEREAS, Senator Murkowski, Alaska has introduced legislation to support Alaska Native languages; and

WHEREAS, Senator Inouye has called for equal support for the remaining American Indian languages of which languages are in danger of extinction.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the National Congress of American Indians:

Commends Senator Murkowski for introducing S. 1591 and supports his Alaska Native languages bill of 1991.

Commends Senator Inouye and his colleagues for the introduction of S. 2044, a bill to assist in the survival of Native American languages. The National Congress of

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American Indians calls for a hearing on this bill as early as possible in 1992.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the National Congress of American Indians also calls for adequate levels of funding to implement S. 2044.

PRESIDENT, NCAI

RECORDING SECRETARY, NCAI

Adopted by the Executive Council during the 48th Annual Convention held on December 2-6, 1991 in San Francisco, California.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KAREN FUNK, LEGISLATIVE ANALYST, NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The National Indian Education Association (NIEA) appreciates the invitation to testify on S. 2044, the Native American Languages Act of 1991, and supports the bill.

S. 2044 would authorize a separate grant program within the Administration for Native Americans by which eligible ANA applicants [1] can apply for funding for a variety of activities meant to preserve and enhance the use of Native languages. We support Senator Inouye's proposed amendment which specifically states that schools and institutions of higher education can be partners in grant activities funded through this new grant program, while maintaining the status quo with regard to who constitutes eligible grant applicants.

Public Law 100-477, the Native American Languages Act. Senator Inouye, in his introductory statement to S. 2044, indicated that the legislation is a followup to Public Law 101-477, the Native American Languages Act (104 Stat. 1152, enacted October 30, 1990.) While Public Law 101-477 articulates United States policy with regard to Native languages, the pending legislation is designed to provide one avenue for implementation of that Act.

Public Law 101-477 states that it is the policy of the United States to "preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice and develop Native American languages", and also states a number of policies which are specific to implementation of the broader right. Those specific policy objectives include:

1) allowing exceptions to teacher certification requirements for the teaching of Native languages;

---

[1] Governing bodies of Indian tribes on Federal and State reservations, Alaskan Native villages and regional corporations, public and nonprofit private agencies serving Native Hawaiians, and Indian organizations in urban or rural nonreservation areas for projects pertaining to the purposes of the Native American Programs Act, public and nonprofit private agencies serving Native American Pacific Islanders including American Samoan Natives. (see 42 U.S.C.A. 2991b).

2) encouraging the use of Native languages as a medium of instruction; and

3) encouraging all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages.

NIEA supported, by Board resolution, by resolution of our 1990 annual conference in San Diego, and through our communications with Congress, the legislation which became P.L. 101-477. Following enactment of P.L. 101-477 we wrote to Governors, State Departments of Education, and, where they exist, persons specifically assigned within state governments to the area of Indian/Alaska Native education. Our mailing (Attachment 1) encouraged states to comply with the spirit of the then newly-enacted law. We received written responses from 20 states and, in addition, phone calls from a number of other states. Also attached are several of the written responses which we thought would be of most interest to the Committee. (Attachment 2)

Indian Nations At Risk Report/White House Conference on Indian Education Resolutions. We bring to the Committee's attention the the conclusions of the report issued by the Department of Education in October, 1991, INDIAN NATIONS AT RISK: AN EDUCATIONAL STRATEGY FOR ACTION and the resolutions of the FINAL REPORT OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON INDIAN EDUCATION, VOLUME I which was issued on May 29, 1992, concerning language preservation and enhancement. NIEA will continue to do followup work on the recommendations of those two reports, and asks that the Committee also give serious consideration to the recommendations. Some of the recommendations, e.g., those which would amend the Bilingual Education Act, are outside the purview of the ANA-focused bill which is the subject of this hearing, and also outside the jurisdiction of this Committee.

The Indian Nations at Risk report includes the following goal:

> By the year 2000 all schools will offer Native students the opportunity to maintain and develop their tribal languages and will create a multicultural environment that enhances the many cultures represented in the school.

In addition, the Indian Nations At Risk report finds that one of the reasons Indian and Alaska Native tribes are at risk is a loss of Native language ability (p. 8). The report also reviewed current research and educational practices, and found that Native language development, along with learning standard English, is a critical foundation for educational progress (pp. 14-16).

Among the recommendations of the Indian Nations at Risk report are that:

1) parents take responsibility for development of a child's language base;

2) local governments and schools ensure school budgets address the multicultural needs of its students;

3) state governments allocate resources necessary for culturally and linguistically appropriate curricula;

4) legislation be enacted to implement P.L. 101-477, the Native American Languages Act, in public schools, and that the Bilingual Education Act specifically be amended in this regard;

5) tribes and postsecondary institutions develop partnerships to allow for certification for teachers of Native languages;

6) additional funding be provided for early childhood programs which are linguistically and culturally appropriate; and

7) teacher training programs be reformed so that they better prepare educators to work within a multicultural setting;

Recommendations concerning Native languages were made by a number of the task force groups at the White House Conference on Indian Education, and include:

1) Resolution 3-5 calling for access for all Native students to culturally and linguistically appropriate materials, including development of a core American Indian studies curriculum for grades K-12;

2) Resolution 3-8 calling for state/local Indian Advisory Councils to develop state plans for Native education which support culturally and linguistically relevant programs;

3) Resolution 6-1 requiring early childhood programs to respect the use of Native American culture and language in the educational process;

4) Resolution 7-1 calling for amending the Bilingual Education Act to add a new chapter designed to meet the Native language needs of Indian and Alaska Native people;

5) Resolution 7-2 requesting that S. 2044 be broadened to include curricula development, development of tribal language literacy and culture certification standards, establishment of course credit for Native languages, requirements that all teachers receive instruction in Native history and culture; requirement for SEAs and LEAs which receive federal funds to

include Indian and Alaska Native language, culture and history in their core curricula;

6) Resolution 7-5 concerning the need for increased federal funding for Native languages, literacy and cultural programs;

7) Resolution 7-6 calling for implementation of the Indian Nations at Risk recommendations concerning Native language, literacy, culture, evaluation, research and accountability;

8) Resolution 8-R-4 calling for the Federal government to support the development of alternative school structures to address the cultural, linguistic and educational needs of Native students as determined by tribal committees and schools;

9) Resolutions T9-1 and T9-22 recommending funding for learning centers for Native language and culture;

10) Resolution T9-9 calling for a federal mandate that all teachers take courses in tribal sovereignty, culture and history of Native Americans; and

11) Resolution T9-15 calling for federal and tribal programs to support organizations active in the areas of cultural and historic preservation.

Tribal Language Applications under the National Historic Preservation Act. One indication of need for funding for furtherance of Native languages are the tribal grant applications under the National Historic Preservation Act grant program administered by the National Park Service. This is an exceedingly small program -- funded currently at $950,000. In the first year of funding (FY1990) for this tribal grant program only $500,000 was appropriated. The National Park Service was overwhelmed with tribal applications for this small amount of money. Two hundred eighty tribal applications were submitted, and 139 of them requested funding for education-related programs designed to further preservation of tribal history and culture, notably preservation of languages. In addition, many other applications, while not specific to language, asked for funding for development of historic preservation plans, plans which likely would address language issues. The National Park Service, accustomed to administering historic preservation grants to states largely for building-related preservation activities, was both surprised and impressed by the tribal response. The next year the Park Service cosponsored a conference at the Osage Nation for the specific purpose of discussing and sharing information about tribal language preservation efforts. The Park Service reports to us that it continues to be overwhelmed with tribal grant applications for funding for Native language programs.

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The tribal historic preservation grant applications for language programs are both heartening and disheartening -- heartening because of tribes' commitment to keep their languages, and disheartening because of the languages already lost and because of the many which are imperiled. In many applications it was stated that literally only a handful of tribal members are still fluent in their language, and one tribe wrote that a single car accident could wipe out its language. And tribes with significant numbers of Native language speakers see that it requires a concerted effort to maintain a Native language speaking tribal membership.

Alutiiq Studies and Language Curriculum on Kodiak Island, Alaska. Our statement thus far has provided information, as reflected in formal reports and resolutions and grant applications, about tribal desires and needs for resources for preservation and resurrection of Native languages. We also include in this testimony the real life example of the efforts of the Aleut people of Kodiak Island in Alaska to institute an Alutiiq studies and language program in the public schools on that Island. The Kodiak Area Native Association has, for a number of years, wanted Alutiiq studies and language programs in their public schools. Because the Alutiiq language is so decimated on Kodiak Island, the schools do not qualify for Department of Education bilingual funds, an avenue which provides for other tribes limited assistance toward efforts to retain Native languages while at the same time teaching English. The public schools on Kodiak Island, for whatever reason, have never offered Alutiiq studies and language programs. But this year, the Office of Indian Education at the Department of Education awarded a Pilot Project grant to the Kodiak Area Native Association for funding of a program for an Alutiiq studies and language program at 3 high schools. (This was one of only two Pilot Project grants awarded). The three high schools are in the town of Kodiak and the villages of Akhiok and Old Harbor. The students in the Kodiak school are a mix of Aleut, other tribes and non-Native students, while the students in Akhiok and Old Harbor are all Native. The Alutiiq studies and language program has been enthusiastically received by both Native and non-Native students. An event of note took place just a few weeks ago -- the first ever Alutiiq Spelling Bee on Kodiak Island. Attached is an article from the Kodiak Daily Mirror about the spelling bee (Attachment 3); a description of the Alutiiq studies program (Attachment 4); and a listing of Alutiiq words from the spelling bee. (Attachment 5).

While we are thrilled about the funding which finally allowed the beginnings of an Alutiiq studies and language program in the schools on Kodiak Island, we are keenly aware that this is not the final chapter. The Department of Education grant provides only one-year funding, and now the Kodiak Area Native Association, the members of the Aleut communities, and the Kodiak School District are faced with the challenge of how they will fund the program this coming

school year (let alone expand it to be a required course of study and to institute it in the other schools on Kodiak Island). Aleut parents have let school administrators know that they want the Alutiiq studies and language program to be continued, but at this point we do not what what will be the outcome. We hope that the Department of Education grant -- and the ANA grants as envisioned on S. 2044 -- will provide necessary seed money for development of Native language programs which can then be sustained by other monies.

Other Actions. In addition to enactment and funding of S. 2044, we ask the Committee to lend its support to other avenues for funding Native language preservation, including the following already-authorized activities:

1) Support funding, as authorized in P.L. 100-297, for the development of tribal departments of education which can work with schools, state departments of education, school boards and others to increase the emphasis on the teaching and use of Native languages.

2) Increasing the appropriation for the tribal historic preservation grant program, as authorized in the National Historic Preservation Act, from its current $950,000 level as supported in FY1993 Interior appropriations testimony by the National Indian Education Association, the Keepers of the Treasurers: Cultural Council of American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians, and the National Congress of American Indians. The House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee has recommended a FY1993 funding level of $2 million for the tribal historic preservation grant program NIEA testified in support of a $10 million funding level.

3) Provide funding through the Indian Education Act for the development of Native language curricula and programs;

4) Provide funding through the BIA to assist tribes and BIA-system schools in creating language curricula and for personnel to teach the courses.

Finally, we ask that the report language accompanying S. 2044 clarify that any absence of appropriated funds under the authority of this Act not be interpreted as a prohibition on the funding of ANA Native language applications. ANA Commissioner Wahpato provided testimony to this Committee regarding a similar bill, S. 1595. That bill is like S. 2044 except that it is specific to Alaska Native languages. ANA stated that S. 1595 is not needed because it has the authority to fund language-related grants and has done so though its funding of four Native American culture centers. However, to be on the safe side, we request clarifying report language.

Thank you for your attention to the concerns of the National Indian Education Association.

ATTACHMENT 1

NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

1819 H STREET, N.W., SUITE 800
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 835-3001

May 30, 1991

The Honorable Bruce King
Governor of New Mexico
State Capitol
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87503

Dear Governor King:

Re: Native American Languages Act, P.L. 101-477

The National Indian Education Association, a nonprofit association of several thousand school administrators, educators and students, most of whom are Indian, Aleut or Inuit, is writing this letter in an effort to insure that you are aware of a recently enacted law, the Native American Languages Act, Public Law 101-477 (104 Stat. 1152).

This Act, the text of which is enclosed, declares that it is the policy of the United States to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice and develop Native American languages." It also states that it is the policy of the United States to:

- allow exceptions to teacher certification requirements for the teaching of Native languages;

- encourage the use of Native languages as a medium of instruction;

- support giving comparable credit for study of Native language as is given a foreign language; and

- encourage all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages.

We ask for your support in implementing the policy of the Native American Languages Act by working with tribal governments, Native education organizations and others with

expertise in Native languages. We ask that you work with your state legislature and other appropriate political bodies to enact requirements that teacher colleges provide for study of Native languages and cultures or that teachers who teach Native children are otherwise provided this type of academic training.

At least 18 states now have alternate teacher certification standards, and we encourage this practice be expanded to include alternate teaching certification standards for Native language instruction (and realistic opportunity for obtaining this alternate certification) for teachers of Native languages. Frequently those persons who are fluent in Native languages are not certified teachers.

The National Indian Education Association believes that the Native American Languages Act will contribute positively to the educational achievement and performance of Indian, Alaska Native, Hawaiian and Pacific Island students. Inclusion of Native students' language and other recognitions of their cultures enhance the self-esteem of Native American students. This, in turn, directly contributes to students' overall academic achievement and accomplishments.

Native languages are integral to Native culture and identity, and an important vehicle by which Native literature, history, government, religion and lifeways are carried from one generation to the next. Non-Native people who are exposed to Native language courses are also enriched as study of language is one of the best ways to learn about other cultures. As you know, people of differing cultures and backgrounds may be lifelong neighbors but, nevertheless, know little about each other -- a situation which leads to counterproductive stereotyping by all parties.

Our organization approved two resolutions on Native language issues at our October, 1990 conference in San Diego. One expressed support for the then pending Native American Languages Act (now P.L. 101-477) and the other expressed support for requiring teachers to take language and Native history/culture courses before serving in schools with a significant proportion of Native students.

Thank you for your attention to this most important matter. Please let us know if we can provide further information or assistance.

Sincerely,

Donna Rhodes/LM

Donna Rhodes
President

Enclosure

TITLE I—NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES ACT

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 101. This title may be cited as the "Native American Languages Act".

FINDINGS

SEC. 102. The Congress finds that—

(1) the status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act (together with Native Americans) to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages;

(2) special status is accorded Native Americans in the United States, a status that recognizes distinct cultural and political rights, including the right to continue separate identities;

(3) the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basis essential for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values;

(4) there is a widespread practice of treating the Native American languages as if they were anachronistic;

(5) there is a lack of clear, comprehensive, and consistent Federal policy on treatment of Native American languages which has often resulted in acts of suppression and extermination of Native American languages and cultures;

(6) there is convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride, and educational opportunity is clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child or student;

(7) it is clearly in the interests of the United States, individual States, and territories to encourage the full exercise and human potential achievement of all students and citizens and to take steps to realize these ends;

(8) acts of suppression and extermination directed against Native American languages and cultures are in conflict with the United States policy of self-determination for Native Americans;

(9) languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people; and

(10) language provides a direct and powerful means of preserving international communication by people who share languages.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 103. For purposes of this title—

(1) The term "Native American" means an Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Native American Pacific Islander.

(2) The term "Indian" has the meaning given to such term under section 5351(4) of the Indian Education Act of 1988 (25 U.S.C. 2601(4)).

(3) The term "Native Hawaiian" has the meaning given to such term by section 6207 of Public Law 100-297 (20 U.S.C. 4907).

(4) The term "Native American Pacific Islander" means any descendant of the aboriginal people of any island in the Pacific Ocean that is a territory or possession of the United States.

(5) The terms "Indian tribe" and "tribal organization" have the respective meanings given to each of such terms under section 4 of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (25 U.S.C. 450b).

(6) The term "Native American language" means the historical, traditional languages spoken by Native Americans.

(7) The term "traditional leaders" includes Native Americans who have special expertise in Native American culture and Native American languages.

(8) The term "Indian reservation" has the same meaning given to the term "reservation" under section 3 of the Indian Financing Act of 1974 (25 U.S.C. 1452).

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 104. It is the policy of the United States to—

(1) preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages;

(2) allow exceptions to teacher certification requirements for Federal programs, and programs funded in whole or in part by the Federal Government, for instruction in Native American languages when such teacher certification requirements hinder the employment of qualified teachers who teach in Native American languages, and to encourage State and territorial governments to make similar exceptions;

(3) encourage and support the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction in order to encourage and support—

(A) Native American language survival,

(B) educational opportunity,

(C) increased student success and performance,

(D) increased student knowledge of their culture and history, and

(E) increased student and community pride;

(4) encourage State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educators, Indian tribes, and other Native American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect;

(5) recognize the right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior;

(6) fully recognize the inherent right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies, States, territories, and possessions of the United States to take actions on, and give official status to, their Native languages for the purpose of conducting their own business;

(7) support the granting of comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a Native American language the same academic credit as comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a foreign language, with recognition of such Native American language proficiency by institutions of higher education as fulfilling foreign language entrance or degree requirements; and

(8) encourage all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages and to grant proficiency in Native American languages the same full academic credit as proficiency in foreign languages.

NO PROHIBITIONS

SEC. 105. The right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of Native American languages shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported education programs.

EVALUATIONS

SEC. 106. (a) The President shall direct the heads of the various Federal departments, agencies, and instrumentalities to—

(1) evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies as well as traditional leaders and educators in order to determine and implement changes needed to bring the policies and procedures into compliance with the provisions of this title;

(2) give the greatest effect possible in making such evaluations, absent a clear specific Federal statutory requirement to the contrary, to the policies and procedures which will give the broadest effect to the provisions of this title; and

(3) evaluate the laws which they administer and make recommendations to the President on amendments needed to bring such laws into compliance with the provisions of this title.

(b) By no later than the date that is 1 year after the date of enactment of this title, the President shall submit to the Congress a report containing recommendations for amendments to Federal laws that are needed to bring such laws into compliance with the provisions of this title.

USE OF ENGLISH

SEC. 107. Nothing in this title shall be considered as precluding the use of Federal funds to teach English to Native Americans.

Native American Languages Act

Public Law 101-477,

104 Stat. 1152

ATTACHMENT 2

JOHN WAIHEE
GOVERNOR

CHARLES T. TOGUCHI
SUPERINTENDENT

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
P. O. BOX 2360
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96804

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

August 5, 1991

Ms. Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street N.W., Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for your letter notifying us of the passage of Public Law 101-477 (104 Stat. 1152), the Native American Languages Act.

We are proud to share our own state's commitment to "preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice and develop Native American languages." Our state constitution mandates that "the State shall promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history and language" (Article X, Section 4). The State Department of Education (DOE) has implemented a Hawaiian Studies program in all of our elementary schools. Instruction is carried out by classroom teachers with the assistance of Hawaiian speaking kupuna (elders). In the classroom, they teach Hawaiian language and culture through a culture-based method of teaching which incorporates lessons, tapes and plans developed collaboratively with classroom teachers.

The success of the program has been made possible by allowing exception to teacher certification requirements, thus enabling students to benefit from community resources who have the expertise in Hawaiian culture ar language.

AN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

The Hawaii State Legislature has provided funds for a total language immersion program in five elementary schools using the Hawaiian language as the medium of instruction. This has been supported through the collaborative efforts of the DOE and the University of Hawaii in developing an alternate certification program for Hawaiian Immersion teachers.

Commitment to the study of the Hawaiian language is further evidenced by the existence of Hawaiian language classes at all levels of instruction. High school credit is awarded, as is accorded any foreign language course of study.

Like yourself, we believe that our native language program will foster a positive self-concept and appropriate cultural attitude in our children, thereby contributing to students' academic achievements. As you can see we are proud of our accomplishments in preserving and perpetuating our native culture and language. We support legislation supporting the survival of Hawaiian and other native cultures and languages.

Sincerely,

CHARLES T. TOGUCHI
Superintendent

CTT:la

cc: Office of Instructional Services

STATE OF MARYLAND
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

IN REPLY REFER TO PG-ED

WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER
GOVERNOR

ANNAPOLIS OFFICE
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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21401
(301) 974-3901

BALTIMORE OFFICE
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BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201
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WASHINGTON OFFICE
SUITE 315
444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
(202) 638-2215

TDD (301) 333-3090

August 2, 1991

Ms. Donna Rhodes
President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N. W., Suite 800
Washington D. C. 20006

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for writing to inform me of the passage of the Native American Languages Act, P.L. 101-477. Your letter raises important points for all states to consider with regards to the quality of instruction being provided for our respective Native American populations. Certainly, the dignity and place of Native American languages is an important factor in the provision of that quality instruction.

The State of Maryland supports P.L. 101-477, including the ten major findings in §102 and the eight policy statements of §104. We shall be vigilant to abide by both the spirit and the letter of the statute as we implement certification decisions and policy so that we recognize Native American languages on an equal basis with foreign languages with regards to the self esteem and motivation of Native American learners.

Sincerely,

William Donald Schaefer

Governor

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
RALEIGH 27603-8001

JAMES G. MARTIN
GOVERNOR

August 22, 1991

Ms. Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for your letter of May 30 regarding the enactment of the Native American Languages Act, Public Law 101-477. I found your letter both interesting and informative.

According to the 1990 Census, North Carolina has the nation's seventh largest Indian population. Of our six state and/or federally recognized tribes, only the members of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee have the opportunity to take classes in their native language.

I have forwarded your letter to the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs and have requested that office to contact the state's Indian tribes and organizations and the Department of Public Instruction regarding the feasibility of instituting the provisions of the Native American Languages Act.

Thank you again for informing me of this very important law. If I may be of any further service to you, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Sincerely,

Jim Martin

James G. Martin

JGM:lf

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

GEORGE S. MICKELSON
GOVERNOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
STATE CAPITOL
PIERRE, SOUTH DAKOTA
57501
(605) 773-3212

June 12, 1991

Ms. Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20006-3671

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for your correspondence in reference to the Native American Languages Act, P.L. 101-477.

The state of South Dakota has allowed exceptions to teacher certification for teaching the Lakota/Dakota language for a number of years. Additionally, three hours of Indian Studies are required for teacher certification for both elementary and secondary education (ARSD 24:02:03:05). This has been a state requirement since 1978.

Be assured we will continue to be supportive of native languages in our school systems.

Again, thank you for your concern in this area.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE S. MICKELSON

GSM:ecl

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY 12224

June 26, 1991

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Governor Cuomo has asked me to thank you for your letter regarding the Native American Languages Act, P.L. 101-477. We are pleased to learn that it is now a policy of the United States to "preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to practice and develop Native American languages."

In New York State, classroom instruction in Native languages began in 1970 in a reservation school on the Tuscarora Reservation. Today, it is offered within the public school districts which contract with the State Education Department to educate Native American children, K-12, who reside on nine reservations within this State. In 1972, courses in Native languages were expanded to include those Native American students, K-12, who attend our city school districts.

It may please you to know that the Native language courses offered in these schools meet the New York State Board of Regents foreign language requirement. This means that all students in this State must demonstrate a level of proficiency in a foreign language by grade 8. Additionally, for grades 9-12, Native American students who opt to study their Native language receive credit towards their high school graduation, in both the general education or New York State Regents tracts. Therefore, in New York, native languages yield the same credit for study as is accorded to all foreign language courses offered in our schools.

New York State Education Law requires that all persons in teaching positions possess certification for employment. Since in New York there is no certification for our Native languages, permits are authorized to Native persons which legalize them to instruct Native languages. These permits are issued initially for two years and thereafter for five year periods.

To encourage changes within the State's curriculum, in 1975 the New York State Board of Regents issued a statement of policy and proposed action to improve educational opportunities for Native American students. One result of this action is the development of a New York State syllabus, Ogwehoweka: Native Languages for Communication, which was published in 1989 by the State Education Department.

I am pleased to enclose a copy of this syllabus because it is a publication that was realized through the fine efforts of our Native American Language teachers and State Education Department staff.

Sincerely,

Andrew J. Zambelli
Secretary to the Governor

Ms. Donna Rhodes
President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H. Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D. C. 20006

Enclosures

58-552 O - 92 - 6

TOMMY G. THOMPSON

Governor
State of Wisconsin

July 8, 1991

Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Native American Languages Act. As I am sure you are well aware, Wisconsin has a rich and thriving Native American cultural tradition. The state is also moving forward in establishing cooperative ties with American Indian groups both on and off the reservation.

State law requires, beginning September 1, 1991, that all school districts offer instruction in the history, culture, and tribal sovereignty of the federally recognized American Indian tribes and bands in Wisconsin. Under my Administration, funding has been provided for "Home-School" coordinators in districts where at least 50 percent of the enrollment are American Indians. Coordinators work with pupils and their families to address the problems which adversely affect the pupils' success in school. I have also directed that funding from the state's preschool to grade 5 program be allocated to the Lac du Flambeau school district (located on the Lac du Flambeau reservation). This funding is used to support reduced classes sizes and other measures which enhance the learning of young children.

Prospective teachers in Wisconsin must engage in a cooperative experience with a group whose background the student does not share as a prerequisite to graduation from an accredited teacher training institution. This could include working with American Indians. Provisional licenses in Indian language, history and culture are available to individuals who do not hold teacher certification in other subjects. Taken together, these requirements expose Wisconsin's teachers to American Indian culture, and provide avenues to licensure for American Indians.

I believe Wisconsin is proceeding well with its efforts to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice and develop Native American languages." I appreciate the efforts of your organization in bringing this federal legislation to the attention of the states. I also look forward to future efforts which seek to accord the culture backgrounds of all state residents with the respect and dignity they deserve.

Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

TOMMY G. THOMPSON
Governor

Room 115 East, State Capitol, P.O. Box 7863, Madison, Wisconsin 53707 • (608) 266-1212 • FAX (608) 267-8983

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE CAPITOL
BOISE 83720-1000

CECIL D ANDRUS
GOVERNOR

(208) 334-2100

July 12, 1991

Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Native American Language Act. I forwarded your letter to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Jerry Evans.

The information I received is that implementation of the act is being monitored by the Bilingual Education Section of the State Department of Education. Idaho does have an alternative certification program. The State Department of Education will be sponsoring training sessions on teaching methods that can be used by tribal language teachers since the alternative route may be too cumbersome for this program.

The Bilingual Education Section plans to focus on introduction of Native American Languages in schools where a significant number of Native Americans are enrolled. If you have any further questions or concerns, please don't hesitate to contact Anita Brunner, Bilingual Education Consultant, State Department of Education, 650 West State Street, Boise, ID 83720; telephone number (208) 334-2195.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Cecil D. Andrus

Cecil D. Andrus
Governor

CDA:akt
cc: Department of Education

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204 - 2797

EVAN BAYH
GOVERNOR

June 21, 1991

Ms. Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Donna:

The State of Indiana is in a unique situation where the numbers of those who represent Native American affairs is very limited. This is not to demean the importance of Public Law 101-477 but to say that changes in curriculum, both in the public schools and in higher education, frequently reflect the social pressures of an organization and the demands of its individual constituents. Let me address the issues as stated in your recent letter.

Indiana teacher certification rules for foreign language are generic in structure so it is possible for a college or university in Indiana to submit a program in any foreign language for which it sees a need.

The accreditation of teacher education program guidelines in Indiana allow the development of teacher preparation programs in any foreign language. There is also a cultural awareness requirement for all teacher preparation programs. This emphasis requires the institution to include instruction designed to enlighten the prospective teacher about the uniqueness of other cultures. Since the Native American population in Indiana is very small, it is quite likely that the emphasis is on cultures more common to Indiana. Indiana University, however, has an optional program that enables student teaching to be completed on a Native American reservation in Arizona.

It needs to be on record that Indiana is in support of Public Law 101-477 and will seek State Board of Education support to strengthen the current cultural awareness requirement should that be necessary.

Sincerely,

Evan Bayh

EB/DLE/vc

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OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE CAPITOL
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO 87503

BRUCE KING
GOVERNOR

(505) 827-3000

June 25, 1991

Ms. Donna Rhodes, President
National Indian Education Association
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ms. Rhodes:

Thank you for your letter of May 30 calling my attention to PL 101-477, the Native American Languages Act. The provisions of the Act seem very appropriate to me. I am sending a copy of your letter to Mr. Alan Morgan, New Mexico's State Superintendent for Public Instruction. Many of the law's provisions relate to State Department of Education functions.

The Native American population is very significant in New Mexico. Native Americans from many different tribes, using many different languages, contribute to our rich culture and diversity. The Native American Language Act should further continuation of Indian's culture and encourage many to stay in school who are now dropping out.

I will work toward the implementation of this Act in New Mexico.

Sincerely,

Bruce King

BRUCE KING
Governor

BK:CG:djf

TEL:907-486-2763 Jun 16,92 15:57 No.014 P.08

ATTACHMENT 3

Kodiak Daily Mirror

Mirror photo

Alutiiq language teacher Florence Pestrikoff gives personalized instruction to Marcella Boskofsky and Shirley Yeager.

Pilot project teaches Alutiiq language along with culture

By MARK WYMAN
Staff Writer

It is perhaps odd that the Kodiak Island Borough School District must approach teaching the Alutiiq as a foreign language, but after years in which many Native leaders wondered aloud why the language wasn't taught at all, the district is giving it a shot this semester.

Thanks to a hard-to-obtain grant awarded to the Kodiak Area Native Association, Kodiak High School has added a social studies course entitled "Alutiiq Studies" that is currently being piloted in Kodiak, Akhiok and Old Harbor.

Despite a shaky start and an unclear future, the district and KANA have invested months of legwork in the pilot, and hopes are high the class will become a curriculum fixture.

The project began when former KANA President Gary Aronson asked Alutiiq Curriculum Specialist Philomena Knecht to look for grant money that would pay for the teachers and supplies needed to start the class.

"He couldn't understand why it wasn't being taught in the schools," Knecht said. "I found out that they couldn't fund a language program here through the usual grants, which are bilingual grants, because these kids' first language is English.

"Ironically, even the Native kids would have to learn their Native language as a foreign language. The whole premise of bilingual education is not to teach you a second language, it's to bring you up to speed in English. If English is already your first language, the government could care less whether you learn a second language."

With that avenue blocked, Knecht wrote a grant to the Office of Indian Education, a division of the Department of Education and received an award notification in November. Later, when congratulations began coming in, Knecht discovered that the grant was a longshot.

"I didn't realize it at the time that they only award two of them in the country," she said. "Otherwise I might not have applied."

Having received the $80,000-plus grant in November — too late for the entire 1991-92 school year — KANA and the district rushed to implement the course for spring semester. The district hired teacher Judy Pulp to teach the social studies aspect of the course, and KANA hired Florence Pestrikoff, one of a precious few Native speakers in the city, to teach the language. In the two villages, the teachers there simply adopted the course into the day's studies.

As with many new projects, Pulp and Pestrikoff have more material than they have time to teach. Nevertheless, the tag-team teachers cover a wide spectrum of material in addition to Alutiiq, such as the history, art, science and physiology of Native Alaskan peoples.

"It's almost college level, so I work hard to try to make it understandable," Pulp said. "I think it's the first time Alutiiq language has been taught like this, along with the culture, ever

See Alutiiq, Page 2

Alutiiq

Class mixes language and culture

Continued from Page 1

in Kodiak. They teach Native languages around the state, but this is more state of the art."

Indeed, the Alutiiq Studies course uses interactive video and computer technology to teach the language. In addition, Pestrikoff employs a method called Total Physical Response (TPR) in which the students are immersed in the language and must swim to make headway.

"I don't speak English when I'm teaching the class, just Alout," she said. "I do motions, gestures — I think it's a good way to go."

"It's based on kind of the natural way people learn language anyway," added Pulp. "The kids right now can understand her pretty well. Now we're working on spelling."

With English being her first language, Pestrikoff admitted that she was a little rusty at Alutiiq.

"The language comes back to my memory," she said. "It takes a little while to arrange the sounds in my mind to be able to speak it."

Pestrikoff said she picked up Alutiiq from her parents many years ago.

"The reason they didn't speak Alout or have me learn Alout was because they got punished in school," she said. "They couldn't speak Alout in the school, but they spoke Alout in the home as children."

Knecht said the village pilots enjoy 100 percent participation, but the Kodiak pilot has had a less successful beginning. By the time KANA learned it had received the grant, high schoolers had already been sent home with a course schedule to register for the current semester. Alutiiq Studies was therefore not included among the course offerings. A flyer mailed home to students and parents advertising the course was also a bit late to make an impact on course enrollment.

Consequently, the 13 students currently enrolled in the course are those who have recently moved to Kodiak or have dropped other courses only to find that Alutiiq Studies was one of only a few open classes left.

There's no criticism of the students who did enroll — some are doing quite well — but the Kodiak pilot's goals included determining how many students would be genuinely interested in such a class and determining how those students would respond to the material.

There's enough grant money to teach the course another semester, and Knecht, Pulp and Pestrikoff are all hoping the school district will agree to have it taught fall semester.

"Hopefully, the school district will be pleased with it and interested in carrying on after our grant runs out," Knecht said. She also said she wouldn't mind if the district were pressured into adopting the course if it didn't do so voluntarily. The class is that important, she said.

"Native kids in Alaska score on an average three points below other Native Americans in achievement tests," she said. "They're at a real disadvantage because non-Native Alaskans tend to have three to five years more education than the average adult in the Lower 48.

"So not only are Alaska Natives at the very bottom in the whole nation in terms of test scores, the people they're competing with on a local level are fairly well educated, a better educated group of people than you'd compete with in your average state in the Lower 48. That's kind of a double-whammy."

A successful social studies class that focuses on Alutiiq can help change that.

"We wanted to come up with a curriculum that's academically challenging and give Native — and non-Native — kids a little bit more of like a college prep course than they would usually have," Knecht said.

ATTACHMENT 4

PROJECT ABSTRACT

The Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA) proposes to pilot a secondary level social studies curriculum entitled *Alutiiq Studies* during the 1991-1992 school year. The proposed pilot will target Alaska Native high school students (grades 9-12) at three discrete sites on the island of Kodiak. The three pilot sites are: the Kodiak Regional High School, the Old Harbor School, and the Akhiok School. The Kodiak Regional High School is located in the city of Kodiak, which serves as the borough seat. Alaska Native students (N=93) represent roughly 17% of the total high school population in Kodiak (N=553), and it is estimated that at least 25% of these Native students will participate in the pilot. The Akhiok School and the Old Harbor School are located in outlying villages where the high school student body is comprised wholly of Alaska Natives. Thus, it is estimated that 100% of the high school students in these villages will participate in the pilot.

The *Alutiiq Studies* curriculum, which is currently under development at KANA, will include components on: the prehistory and history of Kodiak's Alutiiq people; their cultural adaptations to life in a subarctic maritime environment; Alutiiq art history; contemporary legal and social issues which confront the Alutiiq people; and the Alutiiq language. Courses which address Alutiiq culture or the Alutiiq language are not presently available to Kodiak Island Borough high school students, and a formal curriculum which would address these subjects has never been developed for students at the secondary level. Indeed, the only course material which contains formal lessons on Alutiiq culture is an elementary level "Alaska Kit". This kit is geared towards 4th graders, and it only covers 4 weeks of lessons on Alaska Native cultures, geography, history, etc.

The Kodiak Island Borough School District plans to redress this situation by piloting KANA's *Alutiiq Studies* as an elective social studies course for high school students, and by having at least three certificated teachers receive training in the use of this curriculum (see attached abstract of Kodiak College summer course entitled "Teaching Alutiiq Studies at the High School Level"). In addition to training KIBSD teachers in the general use of this curriculum, KANA will train Native speakers to deliver the language component of the curriculum. In keeping with the recommendations which the State Commissioner of Education made on Native language programs (12/89), the Alutiiq language component of the curriculum will first emphasize the development of oral comprehension skills. Instruction will be by the immersion method, and students will be able to review each lesson and acquire reading/writing skills through a combination of workbook exercises and computerized language tutorials.

The curriculum is best described as a multimedia endeavor, which will make use of video, digitized sound software of Alutiiq speech, color slide sets, artifact teaching collections, and a color art workbook. The curriculum will promote Native cultural awareness and bolster academic achievement in history, science, art, and language through the use of innovative teaching methods, and innovative teaching teams.

Please Note: The applicant is an Indian (Alaska Native) organization, organized and incorporated in 1966, as a non-profit association which would serve the needs of Alaska Natives living on Kodiak Island. Authority for the organization is vested in an Indian Board of Directors. This application is thus eligible for **priority points**, pursuant to the Indian Education Act of 1988, as amended.

KANA- ALUTIQ STUDIES
ALUTIQ SPELLING BEE - MAY 1992

(relatives)

(land)

(sea, ocean)

(dog)

(creek)

(hair)

(egg)

(people)

(there is some, there is no more)

(Native food)

(whale blubber)

(Russian person)

(located on the outside)

(located underneath it)

(here, in this place)

(located inside of it)

(located on the side, the part that

(in the time long ago, ancient)

(aged fish eggs)

(It is bloody)

KANA- ALUTIQ STUDIES
ALUTIQ SPELLING BEE - MAY 1992

•Pakiatan	(Are you working ?)
•piagaaq	(head)
•ikuwaq	(cousin)
•uyuwaq	(younger brother)
•pilleguaq	(adopted child)
•angayuk	(partner)
•qanteq (qan)	(tooth)
•angaun	(heart)
•aqsaq	(belly, stomach)
•imiinga	(pour it for me)
•piuuaqaq	(honest)
•allumek	(from the other one)
•cungaaqaq	(blue/green in color)
•isangarnaq	(pop, soda)
•Tuungayugtua	(I'm thirsty, I want a drink/water)
•umalikuk	(married couple)
•allanertaq	(stranger, guest)
•kigunghaaq	(anyone)
•ilituumaaqaq	(mindful, very aware)
•Allagnertaq	(It is scary)
•arlluk	(killer whale)

KANA- ALUTIQ STUDIES
ALUTIQ SPELLING BEE - MAY 1992

•Tumairtaq	(The water is smooth)
•amitarak	(weasel)
•Iqilutaa	(You are lying)
•asayat	(drums, music)
•anganaaqaq	(airplane)
•Aqllangluni	(It is blowing)
•Ikuriuni	(It is rising up out of the water)
•arlitaq	(bidarky, chiton)
•Nualarmiut	(He/She is an Old Harbor person)
•angnertaq	(chief, leader)
•allaani	(to be evil)
•iguik	(snooze)
•taariq	(boays switch made from dried alder leaves)
•Ilagiaraartaq	(He/She is really laughing)
•Ilimaaviuta	(teacher)
•uva'i	(enough)
•anlagaa'aq	(boil, sore)
•cauliaq	(young animal)
•Iwarkiaqa	(I looked for it)
•Callaalliuta	(Don't be idle)
•Qikiartat	(They are always shy)
•Nerallriatan	(Did you eat yet?)

ATTACHMENT 5

20 June 1992

Bob Arnold
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
838 Hart Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Arnold:

I enjoyed our telephone conversation. The comments which follow should provide a fairly complete reflection of our discussion. I am very sorry for the delay.

First and foremost, despite the propaganda circulated about U.S.ENGLISH, you may rest assured that genuine efforts to preserve and maintain our indigenous languages are *NOT* contrary to the goals of the common language movement. Indeed, efforts to maintain North America's indigenous languages inevitably bolster the arguments to protect the role of our common language (and *vice versa*).

I learned a great deal about Innuit and Aleutian languages from our immediate past Executive Director who spent many years in related language acquisition programs and issues, including a considerable stint with Athabascan dialects in remote areas of Alaska. It is clear that our motivations overlap nicely with those groups seeking practical approaches for maintaining our native linguistic heritage.

U.S.ENGLISH is the primary organization in the United States fighting *involuntary segregation* based on ethno-linguistic lines. We believe that any government policies which contribute to the involuntary segregation of population groups and school students must be scrutinized openly, frankly, and thoroughly.

Over 400,000 individuals across the full spectrum of Americans have lent their support to our goals. Over two thirds of U.S.ENGLISH members know and use languages in addition to English. The membership and staff of U.S.ENGLISH reflect the long publicized -- but regularly distorted -- goals of the organization: *preserving the role of a common language among the diverse immigrant and ethnic groups of our nation.*

Like our nation, U.S.ENGLISH members represent dozens and dozens of languages. We realize that all of these languages could not be used in all our public life; it is simply a question of practicality. With so many languages and ethnic groups, therefore, it is understandable that a single common language would have evolved very early in the post-Columbian history of what is now the United States.

We believe that every individual has a right to maintain and preserve the various aspects of his/her culture: religion, language, family structure, food, and other traditions. Several ethnic groups in our country have provided good role models for maintaining language and culture. We should learn to prize and emulate these role models.

The best way to ensure the survival of the scores of languages in the United States is through the preservation of one umbrella language serving as the common link among all linguistic groups.

History has provided our diverse nation a common tongue which crosses all ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious lines. This common language is neither restricted to, *nor can it be claimed by,* a single religion, ethnicity, class, or race. Indeed, although English was originally brought to American by Anglo-Saxon settlers, the case today is that black and brown speakers of English far outnumber *"WASP"* speakers. While English may be derided as a bastard language absorbing anything from other languages, the positive side of that linguistic phenomena is that English readily became a language without ethnicity.

The alternative to our historic tradition of a common, bridge language among ethno-linguistic groups would be some form of social Darwinism: the strongest three or four (or six or eight) languages would eventually push out the remaining hundred or so.

Signs of that are already discernible. In Maine and New Hampshire, for example, historically important languages like the Penobscot dialects and French are little taught in the school systems. Although languages like those have truly been overwhelmed by the predominance of our common language, nonetheless, some degree of survival has been possible over the last three hundred years. Above and beyond that, those languages would be less vulnerable if they were not rendered so invisible in school and university curricula.

But the new linguistic dynamic should alarm any serious, practical-minded linguist: those historically and culturally important languages are now being further shunted aside as newer, numerically stronger languages attain greater social and political significance. *Vis a vis* the newer languages, the historic languages in New England are becoming even more devalued in language curricula. Many New Englanders would argue that it is easier to find classes in Cambodian and Spanish than in Acadian French or Penobscot. Linguistic Darwinism is pushing historic languages into obscurity and irrelevancy.

Consequently, it is easy to see that one particular argument raised against the common language movement is especially disingenuous, *or at least naive:* the argument that our movement is dangerous for preserving other languages and that *opponents* of the common language movement are the ones who favor the promotion of other languages.

If we do not maintain our linguistic heritage by giving our historically important languages a genuine place in our educational institutions, then how would we expect this heritage to be preserved through the piecemeal officialization of those languages whose speakers have political clout? That argument survives *no* serious scrutiny or analysis.

The message that students in New England get is that Acadian French and Penobscot have no important value -- otherwise, why wouldn't those languages have more visibility in the curriculum? (I do not ignore the fact that our nation really doesn't give much value to learning languages at all; but that is a different issue. To the extent that we *DO* give any value to languages, the choices are extremely narrow.)

Designating our one common, umbrella language as our idiom for official, public functioning will not destroy interest in any of our rich heritage of languages. But rendering languages invisible by ignoring them in our education systems will. Every language spoken in our country has a distinct cultural value, not just the languages spoken by ethno-linguistic groups with political muscle in our legislative bodies and in our educational bureaucracies.

The new political phenomenon of supplanting the role of our common language is especially dangerous for our indigenous languages. Our indigenous ethno-linguistic groups will always suffer a severe handicap in terms of raw political power. Therefore, we dare not allow social Darwinism to take over as language policies evolve.

Indigenous languages provide scholars a significant key to learning about the cultures which preceded the arrival of Europeans in the 15th Century. Language provides members of indigenous groups a distinct and invaluable link to their historic cultures.

No two countries are exactly alike. No two countries have exactly parallel histories and language policies. We have a lot to learn from every culture and every language group, and we have an immense amount to learn from linguistic issues in other countries.

I would be delighted to present these thoughts before any members of the Senate, staffers, or other involved parties.

Language issues, like many other serious issues facing our nation, are too quickly cast into the category of *WE vs. THEY* debates. The saddest result is that people perceived to be on opposite sides often share an incredible array of common ground.

On the issue of native American languages, I believe that we may be able to communicate some messages that are not expected from our organization, and, therefore, might carry enough shock value to be heard!

I look forward to meeting you. Keep up the good work.

Very truly yours,

Chris Doss

Wm. Christopher Doss

May 19, 1992

Phyllis Minn
FIRST NATIONS DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE
69 Kelley Rd, Falmouth,Va. 22405

Dear Phyllis:

Greetings! I am delighted to hear that activity is being initiated toward the development of NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE LEGISLATION. Such action is timely, in view of the fact that it is the Quincentennial year and most importantly, since we as Native people are faced with the spectre of increasing language loss as each year passes.

As a Native speaker, I am grateful for the knowledge passed on to my family through a medium that dictated respect, dignity and universal responsibility. Our language formed the parameters for deep philosophical and educational concepts that were akin to Einsteins theories of relationships of all living things.

OPPRESSION came to our people in many, many ways, and one particularly devastating avenue was through the disallowance of Native language use in our early boarding schools. It is certainly not too late to reverse these oppressive acts, by creating arenas and funding to re-teach our languages. I look forward to providing any support that I can to advocate for positive Native Language Restoration Legislation.

Please call if I can be of any further assistance and good luck in this endeavor.

Respectfully,

Faith Spotted Eagle, Private Consultant
Spotted Eagle & Associates

cc: file

703- 371-3505

Prob. she would testify too

INTERFACE

INTERFACE NETWORK
[illegible]
ESTHER FUENTES
DIRECTOR

June 17, 1992

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
Hart Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1102

Ká Hay Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter in support of Senate Bill 2044 that amends the Native American Languages Act of 1990. It is imperative that money be allocated for tribal language maintenance, restoration and revitalization. As a Crow bilingual educator, I believe that much of the discouraging statistics about our Native youth is due to a lack of "identity" and self-esteem. I believe Native language and cultural identity are intertwined. In order for our children to become whole and feel good about being an American Indian, tribes and educational institutions must be given policies to guide them. Research has substantiated the need for the full development and maturation of the mother tongue to ensure student's cognitive and academic success in school.

Passage of Bill 2044 will empower the Indian nations, communities, and families to reclaim their vision and forge their own destiny as Indian nations enter the 21st century.

A-Ho,

Sharon Stewart Peregoy

Sharon Stewart Peregoy
Crow Tribal Member
Education Specialist

SSP/mjr

May 18, 1992

Ms. Phyllis Minn
1st Nations Development Institute
69 Kelly Road
Falmouth, VA

Dear Ms. Minn:

I am writing to you in support of proposed amendments to the Native American Languages Act.

It is imperative that we organize the best qualified Native Americans to provide testimony for any scheduled hearings.

The vast majority of Americans haven't the slightest inclination that Native American languages constitute over 50% of the linguistic diversity of our nation. Such diversity is of inestimable value to our national cultural mosaic.

We, the Indigenous Nations of this continent are the grandfathers and grandmothers of the entire Human family in this part of the divine creation. As such we are obliged to keep our languages alive to teach all future generations of the proper and correct way of living in peace and harmony with all of the Creation.

If there is any other way I can be of assistance to you in this matter of utmost importance, please do not hesitate to call. I remain....

Your Humble Serpent,

Reuben A Snake, Jr.
Dean, CRCE - IAIA

07:57 ☎1 505 2427558 EAC - WEST

Rebecca Benjamin
P. O. Box 7730
Albuquerque, NM 87194

June 19, 1992

Honorable Daniel Inouye
State of Hawaii
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Inouye,

I am writing to you to express my support for Senate Bill 2044, which provides funding for the Native American Languages Act.

I have worked in educational settings with Native American communities in the southwestern United States for the past eight years. During this time, I have come to understand the tremendous importance that Native American languages have in maintaining the cultural identities of the tribal people in this area. It is through language that young people can come to know and understand their heritage and appreciate the wisdom that previous generations have passed on to them. In this way, they can feel pride in who they are and a connection to others. As an educator, I know that this sense of connection and community is often the key to mental and emotional health.

I believe it is crucial that the tribal entities plan and control the ways in which their languages will be used and preserved. I know of several communities that are now struggling to insure the continued use of their languages. Much of these efforts have been hampered by a lack of financial resources. This bill will provide the badly needed monies needed for their preservation efforts.

I therefore, wholeheartedly support passage of this bill. In this, and other efforts you have made on behalf of native people, I commend you for your work.

Sincerely,

Rebecca Benjamin

Nipmuc Tribal Acknowledgment Project
22 Front St., Midtown Mall P.O. Box 3
Worcester, MA 01614
(508) 753-0440; (508) 752-8086

May 13, 1992

Senator Daniel K. Inouye
Chairman, Select Comm. on Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20510-6450

Dear Mr. Chairman,

As chairman of the Nipmuc Tribal Acknowledgement project, let me add my support to your bill (S-2044, Section 803B) to assure the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages.

Our Tribe is now working through ANA and the BIA, toward Federal recognition. There are only a handful of our elders left, who speak our native language. One has just had a stroke, and he is one of our most knowledgeable, in our language.

In the past, Tribal groups not Federally recognized have been eliminated from participating in some programs. I would hope that language could be inserted to include those tribes who are, and have been recognized by their respective states.

We would not be in support of Native language programs being carried out by schools, rather than by Tribal governments and their organization. Who knows our language better than our own people? However, we would support some portion of funding to schools, if the school provided a minimum of matching resources and written concurrence from the tribe(s) to be affected, or selected. All materials generated should belong to the tribe, and not to someone else's commercialization without expressed written consent from the tribe. We have already had the experience of someone in academia, performing paid work for us, and then writing a book about it! Fortunately, we were able to stop this before the material went to print, and could jeopardize our recognition effort.

I would like to ask that my name be added to your mailing list at the above address. I respectfully request copies of S.2044, Sec

803B, and any other proposed Indian legislation. By the way, Mrs. Lucille Dawson, and her staff person, Mary Ann Salvato, are great people to work with. They have been of tremendrous help to us.

Thank You,

Eagle Hawk

Wompsickuk Quanunon (Eagle Hawk)
James H. Cossingham, Chairman

JAMESTOWN S'KLALLAM TRIBE

305 Old Blyn Highway, Sequim, WA 98382 206/683-1109 FAX 206/683-4366

June 11, 1992

Senator Daniel Inouye, Chairman
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
838 Hart Building
Washington, D.C.

RE: S. 2044: The Native American Languages Act

Dear Senator Inouye:

The Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe is in full support of your bill, the Native American Languages Act. We believe the opportunity for Tribes to apply for grants to preserve, protect and promote the use of their unique languages would be a great step forward in the fight to save their cultures and way of life. We do not believe that the funding should be offered under the Bilingual Education Act, which allows schools to develop curricula and teach the languages. It was the schools that took our languages away from us; that punished us for speaking our native languages. We do not believe that the non-native schools have the will, the ability, the cultural sensitivity or knowledge to appropriately teach our languages to our children.

The Tribe believes that language is the core of culture, and that the loss of language is a major factor in the destruction of self-esteem and family ties for Indian people. The S'Klallam people are fortunate that a few elders still speak S'Klallam, and we have in our area a very talented teacher of our language. We believe it is crucial for us, a small tribe, to have the opportunity to apply for funding to hire this woman to provide classes in our native language to begin the process of restoring our heritage to our young people. With language comes pride in our roots and our ancestors; our language is who we are. Without a connection to their past, children suffer from an erosion of self-esteem, and fall into negative patterns of substance abuse, self-destructive behaviors, and suicide. With a positive connection to the past, Indian children gain the strength they need to live full, rich and productive lives, moving comfortably between two cultures. We owe it to the future generations to prepare them to the best of our ability to be able to achieve this balance.

Senator Inouye, we thank you for your tireless work for the native people of this country and around the world. We wholeheartedly support these efforts. Please let us know if we may provide further support.

Sincerely,

W. Ron Allen

W. Ron Allen
Tribal Chairman/Executive Director

The Legislative Branch
The Navajo Nation

Nelson Gorman, Jr.
Speaker of the
Navajo Nation Council

June 15, 1992

SENATOR DANIEL INOUYE, CHAIRMAN
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
SH-722 Hart Senate Building
Washington, D.C. 20610-1102

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:

This letter shall serve to give my very strong support to Senate Bill 2044, the Native American Language Act.

The Navajo language is essential for the preservation of our Navajo culture, values, oral history and uniqueness. In 1989, the Navajo people in Arizona were antagonized and appalled by a movement to declare the English language as the official language of the State of Arizona. The Navajo Nation eminently opposed this proposition due to its devastating affects on the Navajo and other Indian languages. When implemented, it would discourage the use of other languages in work places, encourage eventual disbelief in Native American and other minority languages and dismantle Native cultures, values, history and language.

Like other Indian Nations, the Navajo people deserve financial resources to develop full academic curriculum to teach our culture, language, values and history and enforce these curriculum so that these courses will be taught in each classroom on the Navajo Nation. Using our Native tongue, we negotiated our Treaty of 1868, translated foreign languages, communicated with our fathers, sons, daughters and relatives, and kept in harmony with nature. In the future, our Navajo people not only need to be economically sufficient but also culturally unique.

I strongly believe that your bill foresees our needs and desires to preserve our identities and speak our Native languages in perpetuity.

Sincerely,

Daniel E. Tso

DANIEL E. TSO, *Chairperson*
Education Committee
NAVAJO NATION COUNCIL

Native American Rights Fund
1712 N Street N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036-2976 • (202) 785-4166 • Fax (202) 822-0068

June 17, 1992

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
Chairman, Senate Select Committee
on Indian Affairs
SH-838 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6450

Re: S. 2044

Dear Chairman Inouye:

In response to your March 24, 1992 request for comments on S. 2044, the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) conveys its support. NARF represents the Tohono O'odham Nation and the Pueblo of Isleta with regard to another bill concerning Native American languages--S. 2236, which reauthorizes and amends a language assistance provision of the Voting Rights Act to ensure that those who need native language translations of English electoral materials receive them.

Through our research undertaken for S. 2236, we have become convinced of the need to protect and encourage native language use. The Native American Languages Act of 1990 was a strong show of Congressional support for native language preservation. S. 2044, by authorizing the Administration for Native Americans to make grants for language preservation, is necessary to implement the policies established by the 1990 Act.

We thank you for recognizing the value of native languages as cultural treasures, and support your efforts to enact legislation making tribal language preservation a reality.

Sincerely,

Peg Rogers

THE
NAVAJO
NATION

P.O. BOX 308 • WINDOW ROCK, ARIZONA 86515 • (602) 871-4941

PETERSON ZAH
PRESIDENT

MARSHALL PLUMMER
VICE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1992

Daniel Inouye
Chairman, Select Committee on Indian affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Inouye:

I'm in receipt of your letter dated March 24, 1992 addressed to Tribal leaders on the subject of S.2044 to help assure the survival and vitality of Native American languages.

I wholeheartedly commend your efforts. As the founder and first Director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School and later the founder and first President of Navajo Community College I have always spoke of the need to preserve and revitalize Native American languages.

However, I share a related concern that in my estimation has never been given its day in court. I'm referring to Native American culture. We all know language is the vehicle of culture: It is used to understand and transport culture, history and other life experiences of a particular group of people.

I fear if we only stress the retention of Native American language we may end up with individuals who can speak the language who do not understand and respect the culture. It would be like a person from South African who spoke English but never understood or respected the American values of equality, justice and brotherhood.

We may raise a group of people who can speak the language and who know nothing about the culture. If this happens we have lost the war while winning the battle (retention of language).

I would hope that there can be renewed emphasis on teaching Native American culture, history, government, etc. The programs that exist are largely going away from those kinds of teachings. JOM, 874, Title IV and VII, etc. are increasingly moving away from teaching Native American culture and history.

There needs to be a new commitment to retaining Native American culture and history.

I appreciate the opportunity of sharing my thoughts with you. By the way, our daughter Faith heads the Washington Office of the Navajo Nation and always talks in such glowing terms about your commitment to Native Americans.

Sincerely,

BJ

Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr., Director
Office of Research & Planning
Development/NDOE

RR/mg

A. David Lester
8688 E. Otero Circle
Englewood, Colorado 80112

June 3, 1992

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Inouye:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter seeking input on S.2044. I draw the clear distinction that these are my views and not necessarily the views of the tribes I serve. The Council of Energy Resource Tribes Board, made up of the elected leaders of the 52 member tribes, have not spoken on this bill.

The question of language vitality is a priority for Indian peoples and our tribal leaders. Language is the key to understanding the interwoven social, historical and spiritual traditions of a people that links the present to both the past and to the future. The continuation of a living language by Indian peoples is tangible evidence of the faith we have in our future as separate cultural societies. Introduction of this bill makes a powerful statement to me that you share that faith.

S.2044 is vitally necessary and by placing it as a companion program within the Administration for Native Americans gives explicit acknowledgement to the role that language and culture play in Native American social and economic development. It has long been demonstrated that a people's progress through development is greatly influenced by cultural values. It is my judgment that S.2044 provides the means by which tribes can integrate cultural resources into their developmental process. Therefore, the programs authorized by S.2044 would properly be tribal programs. This is quite distinct, although closely related, to language and culture instruction in elementary and secondary education.

Rather than carving an explicit role for schools in terms of the tribal programs, it seems to me we would be better advised to allow great flexibility. It is quite common practice for schools to give release time for students of particular faiths to attend classes of religious instruction. A tribe that has developed the language, history and cultural curricula and certified its own instructors could possibly create their own elementary and secondary institutes of instruction that would be part of a student's school day experience but would not be under the administrative control of the school district.

Such an arrangement could in some instances remove a serious point of conflict between the native communities and school administrators. Since the schools that serve tribal students operate under a wide variety of different structure, maximum flexibility is desirable.

I hope these views help in your efforts to bring language and cultural development to fruition through S.2044.

Sincerely,

A. David Lester

Reference: S 2044

We would like the Committee on Indian Affairs to know that we feel it extremely important that Native American languages are not lost. Though we are not of American Indian descent, we believe the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages is a precious heritage that must not be allowed to disappear; these languages are a part of the history of this country.

We would like to see the teaching of these languages done cooperatively by the schools and by the tribal governments.

Respectfully,

Richard Cameo-Russell

Deborah Cameo-Russell

Richard and Deborah Cameo-Russell

June30,1992

University of Hawaii at Hilo

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
HUMANITIES DIVISION

June 16, 1992

Senator Inouye
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Senator Inouye:

Thank you for your request for input on S. 2044, the Native American Languages Act of 1991. I want to commend you on your efforts to provide support for this vital aspect of Native American cultural continuity. Your office shared with me a copy of an additional section on collaborating organizations that was also very encouraging.

As per your letter, a number of us in Hawai'i and elsewhere in the nation have discussed aspects of the bill and tried to consider areas where the wording of the bill might not include the wide variety of language situations and community language programs that exist in the country. These suggestions are attached with explanations.

In our discussions a number of issues relating to educational institutions and Native American languages came up. Although these are not directly related to this bill, it may be appropriate to note them now. These concerns are primarily related to issues addressed but not directly legislated in the 1990 Native American Languages Act. First, there continues to be opposition in some universities to granting credit for Native American languages. Second, Native American children, even Native American language speaking children, continue to be denied the right to study their languages in schools in some areas. Third, rights such as accorded here in Hawai'i for Native Americans to establish "language nests" (Pūnana Leo) should be granted Native Americans in general as a means to allow communities to repair the effects of past government policies.

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In closing, I have been very proud in talking to Native American people throughout the United States that our Senator from Hawai'i has shown such sensitivity to their concerns and leadership in addressing them.

Mahalo nui loa no kou aloha a me kou kōkua!

Me ka 'oia'i'o,

Dr. William H. Wilson

Dr. William H. Wilson
Hawaiian Studies Chair

EXPLANATION REGARDING SUGGESTIONS FOR S. 2044

1. in Section 2 (b) 2

Wording changes should be made to assure inclusion of groups that have already established efforts in their language and also groups where language proficiency is not simply generational but might be by residential area, i.e., almost everybody in one section of a reservation knows the language while elsewhere it is lost.

2. in Section 2 (b) 3

Wording changes needed to reflect that some efforts have begun and that some of the best teachers are young people who are just learning to speak themselves and that in order for them to teach such young people need to do research. Furthermore, it is important that the focus on benefiting the survival of the languages rather than academicians in linguistics who have other sources of funding.

3. in Section 2 (b) 5

Wording changes needed to reflect the need for written media as well as radio and print and again the need to involve young Native Americans who are not yet speakers in establishing as well as running such programs.

4. in Section 2 (b) 6

Wording changes needed to recognize valuable materials available in in forms other than oral testimony and that these should be disseminated as well as collected and preserved using various types of technology.

5. in Section 2 (c) 3

Projects should be funded based on an integrated effort to address the specific needs of a particular language group. Information is needed on how what is being proposed fits into what has already been done in a particular language and community in order to determine if a project is not simply repeating what already exists or focusing on something that is not warranted given the current situation in the community.

6. new Section 3

A definitions section may be useful for clarification purposes.

SUGGESTED REVISIONS
TO: S. 2044 (Native America Languages Act of 1991)

Subtractions are in brackets and in an outlined format. Additions are underlined.

S. 2044 Section 1. SHORT TITLE

This act may be cited as the "Native American Languages Act of 1991".

Sec. 2. GRANT PROGRAM

The Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2991) is amended by adding after section 803A the following new section: "SEC. 803B GRANT PROGRAM TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND CONTINUING VITALITY OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES.

"(a) IN GENERAL - The Secretary shall award grants to any-organization that is "(1) eligible for financial assistance under section 802(a); and

"(2) selected pursuant to subsection (c), of this section;
for the purposes of assisting Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages.

"(b) IN PARTICULAR- The specific purposes for which grants awarded under subsection (a) may be used include, but are not limited to-

"(1) the construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Native American languages;

"(2) **{the establishment of}** community language programs to bring **{older and younger}** Native Americans together to facilitate the transfer of Native American language skills **{from one generation to another}** to Native Americans lacking such skills.

"(3) **{the establishment of}** training programs to train **{speakers of Native American languages}** Native Americans to teach and/or research **{such}** Native American languages **{to others}** for the benefit of Native Americans seeking to assure the survival and continuing vitality of their traditional languages;

Suggestions
page 2

"(4) the development, printing and distribution of materials to be used for the teaching and enhancement of Native American languages;

"(5) **{the establishment or support of training programs to train Native Americans to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be broadcast in their native languages, and}** the support and/or development and implementation of radio, television, and written media in Native American languages and the training of Native American language speakers to produce or participate in media in Native American languages;

"(6) **{the compilation of oral testimony to record or preserve Native American languages}** research and archival work to include the collection, preservation and dissemination of materials in or about Native American languages through such means as audio tape, video tape, film, writing and computer programs.

"(c) APPLICATIONS. - Grants shall be awarded on the basis of applications that are submitted by any of the entities described in subsection (a) to the Secretary in such form as the Secretary shall prescribe, but the applications shall, at a minimum, include-

"(1) a detailed description of the project for which a grant is sought, and

"(2) a statement of objectives that are consonant with the purposes of this section,

"(3) a statement on the current status of the language or languages addressed and programs already in existence in support of that language.

Grants can address one or more subsections of (b) and include requests for equipment, consultants and technical assistance.

"(d) AMOUNT OF FUNDING,- Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the costs of programs that are awarded grants pursuant to this section shall be paid in accordance with the following paragraphs:

"(1) 90 PERCENT OF COSTS. - The grants awarded pursuant to this section shall provide funding for not more than 90 percent of the costs of the programs that are recipients of such grants.

"(2) REMAINING 10 PERCENT OF COSTS.- The remaining 10 percent of the costs of programs that are awarded grants to cover portions of a program under this section shall be paid by the grant

Suggestions
page 3

recipient either in cash or through the provision of property or services.

"(3) LIMITATION OF FUNDS TO PAY THE REMAINING 10 PERCENT OF COSTS.- The amount referred to in paragraph (2) may originate from any source (including any Federal agency) other than a program, contract, or grant authorized under this Act.

"(e) ADMINISTRATION.- The Secretary shall administer grants under this section through the Administration for Native Americans."

SEC. 3 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 816 of the Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S. C. 2982d) is amended -

(1) by striking out "sections 803(d) and 803A" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "sections 803(d), 803A, and 803B"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections

"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary for each of the fiscal years 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 803 (B) of this Act."

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS

The terms Native American and Native American Language have the meanings given to such terms under the Native American Languages Act of 1990 (Title I of Public Law 101-477.)

University of Hawaii at Manoa

Department of Indo-Pacific Languages
Spalding Hall 459 • 2540 Maile Way • Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

IP92-C70

May 22, 1992

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-6450

Dear Senator Inouye,

We wish to express our appreciation for your efforts in introducing a bill to support the preservation and revival of Native American languages, and for your offering us the opportunity to review and comment upon your proposals.

First, we consider that the bill has been well thought out and its purposes quite thoroughly enumerated. We and our Hawaiian language colleagues in this Department fully support the bill and its aims.

We would like, however, to raise three questions, which may, in fact, already be addressed in the bill, but about which we are not entirely clear in our own minds.

1. Section 803B(b)(4) speaks of "the development, printing, and dissemination of materials to be used for the *teaching and enhancement* of Native American languages" [emphasis added]. We would wish to be sure that this section includes not only teaching materials but more general writings, and not only the preservation of the knowledge of ancient ones and elders, but also the voices of the present generation and of present-day culture as it has evolved since the beginning of contact with Western culture. For a language to be more than an historical artifact, there must be a need to use it, and this need can be fostered through the support of creative writing which will allow those still fluent in the language to provide their modern thoughts and stories. Other writings which describe many aspects of the modern culture — family

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customs, attitudes toward care of animals, favorite meals and recipes, etc. — should, we believe, also be encouraged. While such materials may not be of direct use in a teaching environment, we trust that the word "enhancement" is sufficiently broad in extent that it would permit support of such endeavors.

2. Section 803B(b)(5) speaks of "the establishment or support of *training programs* to train Native Americans to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be broadcast in their native languages" [emphasis added]. We hope that this wording does not preclude the use of grant funds in supporting the *production* and *dissemination* of such programs, as it seems to imply that primary emphasis will be on training personnel, rather than active creation of the programs. Indeed, we would like to see the production of television and radio broadcasts in Native American languages as a priority focus in the implementation of the bill, since the pervasiveness of the media enables the broadest and most rapid possible dissemination of news and cultural materials concerning the Native American community. Also, the very presence of media broadcasts in one's native language gives that language a status and a cachet which supports its revival and survival.

3. The original Native American Programs Act of 1974, in Section 803A, includes among organizations eligible for financial assistance "public or nonprofit private agencies serving Hawaiian natives." We suppose that the University of Hawai'i is included as such an agency, although it was not established specifically to serve Native Hawaiians, in the same way that, e.g., the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was. The question that the bill's wording raises for us is simply: could Hawaiian language faculty at the University of Hawai'i compete for such funding directly, or would they need to apply through some other public or nonprofit organization which qualifies under the Act? If the present wording includes UH as an eligible agency, then we have no problem with it; if not we would wish the bill to be so worded as to include the University, whose Hawaiian faculty have been particularly active in the revival and preservation of the Hawaiian language.

Again, Thank you for introducing this important legislation in support of the preservation of Native American languages, and for giving us the opportunity to comment on it.

Sincerely,

Emily Hawkins
Hawaiian Language Coordinator

D. Haigh Roop
Department Chairman

GALLUP-McKINLEY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GALLUP, NEW MEXICO 87305
P. O. BOX 1395
(505) 722-7781

SUSAN CATE
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION

PETER BELLETTO
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL PROJECTS

RAMON VIGIL
SUPERINTENDENT

INSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT

LARRY MUZZIOLO
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
SECONDARY INSTRUCTION

ED PENG
DIRECTOR
ATHLETICS / ACTIVITIES

May 21, 1992

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
722 Senate Hart Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Inouye:

I am writing to you in support of S-2044, the Native American Languages Act. This bill would allow tribes to apply for grants to preserve, protect and promote the use of native languages.

The effort by the White House Conference on Indian Education to place this program under the Bilingual Education Act, is not feasible and would be detrimental to the proposed legislation.

It is extremely important that the budget for this program is placed under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This would allow the tribes to contract directly for grants.

Sincerely yours,

Peter M. Belletto

Peter M. Belletto
Director of Federal Projects

PMB/sls

xc: Mr. Bob Arnold, Chairman
838 Senate Hart Office Building
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510
File

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

University of Colorado at Boulder

CeNReLPS
Center for the Study of the Native Languages of the Plains and the Southwest
Department of Linguistics

Campus Box 295
Boulder, Colorado 80309-0295
(303) 492-2748, (303) 492-8041

May 15, 1992

Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, U. S. Senate
Chairman, Select Comm. on Indian Affairs
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Senator Inouye:

I have just been given your letter concerning S. 2044, Sec. 803B in "News from Indian Country" to read, and I would like to respond. I am a linguist who works with Native American languages and the people who want to preserve and/or revive them.

In my opinion it is crucial that you make the Grant Program such that tribal organizations, not just schools, have access to the funds. The group I work with now, the Wichita tribe of Oklahoma, sends their children to Oklahoma public schools. There Native Americans are a minority overall, and Wichitas are a small fraction of the Native Americans. No school in Oklahoma will ever apply to do anything with the Wichita language, yet the Wichitas themselves want desperately to create programs to maintain their language.

We are currently developing lessons for both adults and children (especially preschool children) with the help of a Cultural Preservation grant from the National Park Service. This funding has been very helpful, but it is minimal and because it is not directly aimed at language, some of the restrictions are inappropriate. A grant program such as the one you propose would enable the tribe to be much more effective in their efforts to enable preservation of their language.

Please let me know if there are ways I can help encourage passage and funding of your proposals.

On behalf of the Wichitas, I thank you for your efforts.

Sincerely,

David S. Rood
Professor

April 20, 1992

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
Chairman
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Senator Inouye:

Thank you for your letter of March 24, 1992, and the enclosed S.2044. We appreciate your farsightedness in preparing the amendment to the Native American Programs Act to ensure that tribal governments and Native organizations will have the opportunity to apply for such grants.

Your concern for the languages of the Native peoples of America is very important to the Aleuts of Alaska. Our language is one that is just now beginning to be used more and more often by our young people. My priority as President of The Aleut Corporation is to ensure that our young people have the opportunities to carry on our traditions and language. Support of your bill will help me do just that.

I am pleased that your Bill will allow the tribal governments and Native organizations to compete for these grants. Many of the funds appropriated for such programs now go to universities and other educational institutions; however, I believe the people themselves--especially the elders--are the best qualified to teach our languages in traditional settings.

Again, thank you for your efforts to help preserve the Native languages.

Sincerely,

Alice Petrivelli

Alice Petrivelli
President

4000 Old Seward Hwy., Suite 300 Anchorage, Alaska 99503 (907) 561-4300 FAX (907) 563-4328

Sealaska Heritage Foundation
One Sealaska Plaza, Suite 201 • Juneau, Alaska 99801 • (907) 463-4844

20 April 1992

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Senator Inouye:

I have a copy of S. 2044 that you sent to Tribal Leaders for their comment. The Sealaska Heritage Foundation a 501.c.3 public charity organized and implemented by the Sealaska Corporation is in full support of your proposed legislation.

For the past nine (9) years the Foundation and the people have been working on preservation of their language and culture through a Language and Cultural Studies program, a Celebration program, promoting traditional performing arts the Naa Kahidi Theater presenting traditional oral literature through drama and a tribal archive program.

Your legislation would help and institution such as ours that battles on a daily basis to obtain funding for our programs and projects that are so valuable to the United States and the indigenous people of Alaska If there is anything that we could do please advise. Thank you again for your vision and dedication to the Native American people.

Sincerely,

David G. Katzeek
President

Bill Anoatubby
Governor

the Chickasaw Nation OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
Arlington at Mississippi / Box 1548 / Ada, OK 74820 / (405) 436-2603

May 8, 1992

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
838 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Senator Inouye:

Thank you for providing us with the information regarding S. 2044, a bill to assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages. The preservation of cultural preservation in general.

We strongly support your efforts and, indeed, the Chickasaw Nation is doing all that it can with our rather limited funds to gather, teach and preserve our own native language. We also support the inclusion in the bill of the language that you suggest, which would serve to encourage public schools support of community-based and tribally sponsored language programs. We do encourage you, however, to retain the tribal governments and Indian organizations as the key funding in such efforts through the Administration for Native Americans.

If there is any way in which we may be of help to you in this effort, please let me know. We appreciate your concern and assistance in preserving this significant part of Native American culture and heritage.

Sincerely,

Bill Anoatubby

Bill Anoatubby, Governor
The Chickasaw Nation

June 15, 1992

Senator Daniel Inouye, Chair
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

Dear Senator Inouye,

I am a student at the University of Central Oklahoma in Edmond, Oklahoma, attending the Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute. I am writing this letter to inform you that I strongly support bill S. 2044 that you and your committee have been working so hard on during the past year for the preservation and perpetuation of Native American languages. We here are very grateful to you for pointing out that languages indigenous to this hemisphere are spoken no where else in the worlds and that hundreds of these languages have already been lost.

It is very important that this bill to assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages "be passed. With the passage of bill S. 2044, tribal governments and other Native American organizations would be allowed "to apply for grants to establish Native language training programs," such as the Oklahoma Native

American Language Development Institute. I cannot begin to put into words what this Institute has meant to me. With the information that I have gained to date, I will be able to better equip myself for working with Native American students. Although the program here is very intense, it is the single most effective program that I have taken part in ever concerning education and language development. Curriculum is being developed that is outstanding and our Native Americans will be greatly benefited.

It is imperative that this bill be passed. Written material must be published. Community language programs must be established. Our precious Native Americans must not be allowed to lose their languages, thus losing their cultural heritage.

Again, thank you very much for working so hard for this bill to perpetuate and preserve Native American languages.

Sincerely,
Glynnis C. Agnes

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June 15, 1992

Senator Daniel K. Inouye
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Senate Building
Washington, DC. 20510

Honorable Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter in support of the Senate bill 2044, for the preservation of the Native American languages.

I am a full blood Chickasaw and I speak my language fluently. Majority of the Chickasaw youth are unfamiliar of their Native tongue because of their parents are not members of the same tribe. Therefore, the parents are unable to teach their language.

The next area to teach the language is in the tribal pre-school. Keeping

the Chickasaw language is crucial. Our language is our only link to our ancestors' glorious past, and also a link to our future. The language and culture go hand in hand. our children desperately need to know their history. Knowing where their ancestors came from will help our youth to be a complete human being. They (the youth) will be happier, and productive human being knowing that their ancestors passed their language on to them. Our Native American youth certainly need to be taught of their rich heritage.

The money need to be made available to the tribal organizations, because "We" as tribal members know our needs and wants, cultures, traditions, and are best to teach the language. We has secretly have always held the tribal people as the primary teachers of our youth. It is past time for us to carry out or tribal responsibilities.

The Chickasaw people first came in contact with the non-Chickasaw (Europeans) in 1540, and the language was being spoken then. We want to keep our tradition alive.

I am very grateful to you and your staff for initiating this very important bill. I support you in your endeavor.

I have been teaching the language at the Murray State College for seven years. I would like to develop lesson plans from beginners, intermediate, and advanced lesson plans to teach as many of our tribal people as I can.

With best wishes-

Geraldine Greenwood

Shawnee, Ok 74801

The Honorable Senator Daniel K. Inouye
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Senate Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Inouye,

It was a great pleasure to hear you speak at the White House Conference in January. We sincerely appreciate your efforts on behalf of the Native American peoples.

I had the honor of representing Oklahoma as a Delegate chosen by the Senate. It was an enlightening experience, and one I will never forget.

I am writing in support of S. 2044 that you and your committee have been working on for the past year. Our native languages are as treasured to us as many of our cultural ceremonies.

We know that many of our languages

have been lost and many more are in danger of the same fate. ×

Since many of our children are educated in public schools, I feel that it is imperative that funding be appropriated for the teaching of native languages in our public schools by Indian organizations, tribal governments, and other Native American organization throughout the United States.

We are fortunate in Oklahoma to have the Oklahoma Native American Languages Development Institute. We are participating in a class at the university level in an attempt to speak, read and write the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Kickapoo and Shawnee languages. We would like to see many more programs at this level and in elementary and secondary school.

Again, we deeply appreciate the many accomplishments you have gotten for the Native American.

Sincerely,
Mary N Haney

X

June 15, 1992

Senator Daniel K Inouye, Chair
Select Committee on Indian Affairs

Dear Senator Inouye,

I am writing this letter in support of the bill S. 2044. As a member of one of the smaller Indian tribes in Oklahoma, I am very concerned about our languages. It is most important to all Indian people that actions be taken toward assuring the survival and continuation of native languages. In many of our tribes, there are only a few native speakers left to carry on the languages.

Monies should be made available to tribal organizations which would enable them to develop programs to promote their native languages. It is important that we begin teaching children at an early age. Native languages are an inherent part of our cultures and I feel that all of this relates to a child's self esteem.

I have been attending the Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute the past few weeks. It has

×

been a very rewarding learning experience. It has made me aware how fortunate people are, when they are able to speak their language.

Thank you for the work that you and the committee have done toward the implementation of this bill.

Respectfully Yours
Linda Hays

① ×

June 15, 92

Senator Daniel Inouye, Chair
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

Dear Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter in a strong support of the bill S. 2044 that you and your committee has been working so hard on during the past year for the preservation and perpetuation of Native American Languages. We are grateful for your pointing out that "unlike languages brought to the shores by people from the East and West, languages indigenous to this hemisphere are spoken nowhere else. Since Europeans first arrived on these shores in the 16th century, hundreds of languages of indigenous people have been lost. Each year, additional languages are threatened with extinction.

(2)

In fact, Dr. Michael Krauss of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks estimates that the coming century will see the death of 90% of the languages in the world. More specifically about Native American languages in our own country, Dr. Krauss states:

In Alaska now only 2 of the 20 Native languages are still being learned by children. ... For the whole U.S.A. and Canada together, ... of 187 languages, I calculate that 149 are no longer being learned by children; that is, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund. Language 68 (March 1992), 4).

In the same volume of Languages, the official publication of the Linguistic Society of America, Dr. Kenneth Hale of Massachusetts Institute of Technology states that language loss "is part of a much ...

③ ×

We find such an evidence elsewhere, including in your state of Hawaii.

With this bill, as you have eloquently stated, tribal governments and other Native American organizations are allowed to "apply for grants to establish native language training programs" (such as the one on-going Oklahoma Native American Languages Development Institute), "to develop written materials" (which no existing commercial publishers want to publish because they cannot make a profit), "to compile oral records" (as an important part of the American history as well), "to establish community language programs" (as the most natural way for children to acquire their language is at home and community),

(4) ×

larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled" (page 1). Ms. Lucille J. Watahomigie, Director of the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program and Dr. Akira Y. Yamamoto of the University of Kansas (Language 68:10-17) show that the Hualapai program has proven to provide young students with self-esteem through the reinforcement of the native language. The stronger and more positive self-esteem has led them to be better students in all subjects areas, including English.

(5) ×

And "to construct facilities, if required." Indeed, this bill will help us to establish and reestablish the most important part of Ourselves, to pursue our foundamental right as human being, to become proud of being Native American and being citizens of the great United States of America. As you may already know, at everymeetings of Native Americans, the American Flag is honored as are expression of patriotism ... We are one of the most patriotic groups in the country. This will become even stronger with this bill.

May God Bless You
From just one Cherokee.
Mercye Strickland

JUNE 15, 1992

Senator Daniel Inouye, chair
Senate Select Committee
on Indian Affairs

Dear Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter to voice my strong support for bill S. 2044 that you and your committee have been working so hard on. I am a Creek Indian from eastern Oklahoma. Though my speach in my own language is limited, I concider my self among the lucky ones. I spoke no English until I entered the public school system yet by the time I graduated, English had superseded Creek as my primary language. Only a stubbern grandmother (who pretended not to understand me when I spoke English to her) prevented me from losing my language completely.

I know many Creek people my own age who have either lost their language through disuse or never had the opportunity to learn it. There is now a growing awareness among my people of the urgency of our situation. We need programs to ensure that the very young learn Creek not as a second

language but as their primary language. We need long range programs to ensure that these children will have opportunities or invironments to use their language as they grow. And we need research to ensure that the exquisite knowledge and oral traditions of our elders is preserved for future generations.

I am truly grateful that you have recognized our plight and brought this to the attention of those in Washington who are able to help us. "MVDO!" (thank you!)

Sincerely

Mekko Lewis

4534 Kenneth Lake Rd
Maumee, Oklahoma 74801
June 15, 1992

Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chair
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Inouye:

This letter is being written in strong support of the bill S. 2044, which would help preserve and perpetuate Native American Languages.

I am presently a student at the University of Central Oklahoma in Edmond, attending a Class on Oklahoma Native American Languages. I recently attended a Language symposium with other members of the Class I am attending. During the symposium, several well educated, articulate speakers expressed the various reasons why the Native Languages should be preserved. But it was a soft-spoken, elderly Indian woman who touched my heart the most. She was not a part of the panel speakers but a part of the audience who was allowed to express opinions and ask questions after

X

panel members spoke. She dear woman spoke of the time in history when Indian Children were beaten by teachers for slipping and speaking their own language. She spoke of the importance of knowing the language of her elders, who have already died, before she dies. She spoke of the need to know the language of her people before she could join them in the here after". This saddened my heart. I thought, how would I have felt as a small child if I had been forbidden to speak the language of my parents. She I thought what if I couldn't pass on to my grandchildren the language spoken to me by my grandmothers- what if my grandchildren could not know the lovely lullabys my grandmother sang to me.

Many languages have been lost ~ but there is hope for the languages that do live ~ and the languages are living languages. With the passage of this bill, generations to come will thank you and in many languages.

Sincerely,
Regina McAfee

June 15, 1992

Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chair
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter in strong support of the bill S. 2044 that you and your committee have been developing for the preservation and perpetuation of Native American Languages. I am grateful that you have given serious attention to the plight of our indigenous languages.

I am a student of linguistics, and at the moment I am participating in the first Oklahoma Native American Languages Development Institute, so the programs that your bill might support are very important to me. And I would like to stress an extremely important aspect of your bill: It is imperative that the grant program be available to tribal organizations in addition to the school system itself. That is,

please do not allow your bill to be weakened in a way that would deny grants to tribal organizations.

Thank you very much.

Thomas M. Green

Thomas M. Green
Dept. of Linguistics
MIT 20D-219
Cambridge MA 02139

X

1992 JUN 22 AM 9:09

June 15, 1992.

Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chair
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter in strong support of the bill S. 2044 that you and your committee has been working so hard on during the past year for the preservation and perpetuation of Native American languages. I am grateful for your pointing out that "unlike languages brought to these shores by people from the East and West, languages indigenous to this hemisphere are spoken nowhere else. Since Europeans first arrived on these shores in the 16th Century, hundreds of languages of indigenous peoples have been lost. Each year, additional languages are threatened with extinction." Over 600 languages were spoken before Europeans arrived here. Five hundred years later, 400 languages have been lost.

Dr. Kenneth Hale of Massachusetts Institute of Technology states in Language, the official publication of the Linguistic Society of America, that

language loss "is part of a much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled" (page 1).

Ms. Lucille Watahomigie, Director of the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program and Dr. Akira Y. Yamamoto of the University of Kansas (Language 61:10-17) show that the Hualapai program has proven to provide young students with self-esteem through the reinforcement of the native language. The stronger and more positive self-esteem has led them to be better students in all subject areas, including English.

With the bill tribal governments and other Native American organizations are allowed to "apply for grants to establish native language training programs" (such as the on-going Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute), "to develop written materials" (which no existing commercial publishers want to publish because they cannot make a profit) to "compile oral records," to establish community language programs," and to construct facilities, if required."

I am currently attending a summer session

Conducted by the Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute. The information I have learned from this institute has already given me hope that my native language, Mvskoke (Muscogee), can be preserved and used by future generations. Passage of this bill would strengthen my hope and my determination to help teach my native language. Mvto. (Thank you.)

Sincerely,
Esther Bell

Shawnee, OK 74801

X

To: Senator Inouye,

I am writing to tell you to support House bill 2044. Without the bill, other languages will die. I am Kickapoo Indian. I am learning to Speak and Write my language. I am grateful for my teachers - friends because they have taken the time to teach me, but I must ask - what of how many Indians have lost their language, culture, way of life. Because I could not speak my native language, I was often called an Apple, that is "Red on the outside White on the inside". This can no longer be said of me. I am well on my way to learning my language. But I did not learn Kickapoo at a school, but through tribal officials. The money appropriated in this bill should be given to tribal governments and schools, with priority given to Tribal governments.

"Kaapichahi"
"Thank you"

Ron Bebeau

X

6-15-92

Senator Daniel Inouye, Chair
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

Dear Senator Inouye:

I would like you to know that I strongly support Senate Bill 2044 for the preservation and perpetuation of Native American languages.

I am a white, English-speaking teacher in a rural community and I am very concerned about the loss of languages that were in this country before my ancestors arrived.

I am very disappointed that in the last 400 years approximately 400 languages ~~have been~~ lost and 17 in the past 8 years alone! The news that out of 20 Alaskan Native Languages only 2! are being taught to the children! We are losing languages and cultures along with them!

I would like to stress that tribal governments and other Native American Organizations as well as public schools should be

allowed to apply for grants.
Thank you and your committee for working so hard on this bill! Keep up the good work!

Sincerely,

Vickie Mason

Jones, Ok.
73049

58-552 O - 92 - 8

Sen. Daniel Inouye chair.
Senate Select Comm. Ind.
6/15/92

Dear Senator Inouye:

I am writing this letter for your strong support of bill 2044.
I as a senior citizen am very sad to see languages threatened instead of preserving.
hundreds of languges are gone or other languages are burned and thats very sad.
with this bill it would like to see native americans tribal government and other native americin organizations apply for grants.

Thank you
Merwin Wahpekeche
Kickapoo tribe of okla.

Senator Daniel Inouye, Chair
Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs X

Dear Senator Inouye:

I'm writing this letter in support of bill S.2044 regarding the preservation and perpetuation of Native American languages.

As you already know, when we lose a language, we experience the loss of self identity and culture.

Here are some stats that are very interesting; since the year of 1984 languages have reduced from 204 to 187 in 1992. This is a loss of 17 languages in an eight year period.

I myself am Choctaw and this language has been lost in my family for the last two generations, no one has been fluent since my grandmother.

We are still lucky in one aspect, there are still native speakers which are accessible - but for how long?

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X

With the passage of this bill, tribal governments and other Native American organizations will be allowed to apply for the necessary grants needed to form language training programs and the development of written forms of our languages. These two areas need to be addressed immediately for our languages to survive.

I myself work in a school system with bilingual students. Incorporating their native languages into our school curriculum can add so much for these students.

Be assured that there are many more of us who support you in your cause.

Thank you for your time,

Debbie Lynn

Debbie Lynn
1057 N. Kimberly
Shawnee, OK
74801

STONE CHILD COLLEGE

Rocky Boy Route Box 1082
Box Elder, Montana 59521
Phone (406)395-4875

June 16, 1992

TO: Senator Inouye

FROM: Bert Corcoran
Interim Presid[illegible]

RE: Native American [illegible]

Please accept this letter as [illegible]pport for [illegible]

To my knowledge, there is [illegible] [illegible]enance, reclbration, and revitalization for native peopl[illegible] [illegible]e support for native people to maintain their languages w[illegible] [illegible]ome opportunities to assist in funding. Many educators [illegible]raging statistics from two generations of native youth is due [illegible]. By putting these children back in touch with their language and roots [illegible] can bring some healing to their children.

If I can be of any assistance, please c[illegible]

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June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et.al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor,

As a fluent speaker of my native Crow Indian language, it behooves me to write this letter of support for funding of the "Native American Languages Act of 1991." I truly believe that many people, more specifically the younger generations, are being stifled and robbed of their culture and heritage. This is due to the sad fact that their languages are lost. You, Mr. Senator, can restore their identity by your efforts to obtain funding for the "NAL Act, 1991."

With funding to support the Act, our children and future generations, can survive years of existence as our ancestors have. Thank you for your efforts.

Barbara M. Not Afraid Bacon
Northern MT. College Upward Bound.

June 16, 1992

Honorable Sen. Daniel Inouye,

I ao a very concerned native american write this letter in support for your Native American languages Act of 1991. As a teenager growing up in today's world I find it very difficult to try to learn my language when every thing that is being taught or every thing that's around us consist of the English language. I feel that if your Bill goes through then native schools would take full advantage of the funding to try to teach the young and old their languages that are not being taught at home or schools.

Sincerely,

Clinton Standing Rock

North central Mt. Upward Bound Program
N. M. C.
Hauve, Mt. 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Sen. Daniel Inouye
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

I as a Native American am writing to encourage and support your bill. As a teenager and how I am living, I know very little about my language. I think your bill will very much help the tribes to preserve their languages. Do you know how much your NAL Act of 1991 help our people if there is funding for these programs? If there was funding for these programs, younger people could learn their language and culture before they forget about it. Once again the stress is on the funding for the bill and you have my full support.

Sincerely,
David Bell

June 15, 1992
Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye
United States Congress
Washington, DC

Your Honor,

As a concerned Native American high school student. I feel obligated to write you this letter of support for the Native American Language Act of 1991.

What use is the act if their is no money behind it? Many of the young people I know would like to know how to Speak our language, It is very sad if you are young especially if you are ceremonially active. As a young person I realize that many of the old people are passing on and a long with them goes the language.

If there was enough money maybe the schools would be able to give people jobs to train teachers to teach the language in Kindergarten all the up to Higher Education.

I stress the importance of money behind the act it would greatly help the language and the people. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Virgil L. Buffalo
Upward Bound, N.M.C.
HAVRE, MT 59501

June 15, 1992

Dear Honor: Sen. Daniel Inouye, et al

As a concerned Native American High School Student, I feel obligated to write you this letter of support for the "Native American Language Act of 1991." I am in full support of your Act because, I am young and I hardly know anything about my Language. What good is an Act if you have no funding? When you get this funding I think the Native people will benefit from this because the Native People will not lose the biggest part of their culture, their language. Another thing I would like to point out is when you get this funding, that schools will not part our languages out as foreign languages, but say it is something like English. The Native American were here first so I figure it shouldn't be a foreign language. Again, I would like to say I am in full support of your Act and getting this funding and putting it into our schools. I hope a lot of other people are also supporting you.

A supporting Native,

Jeremy Dore
Upward Bound N.H.C
Havre, MT 59501 92

6-16-92

Honorable Senator Daniel Akaka, et. al
United States Congress
Washington DC.

Your Honor;

I am writing in support of the Native American Languages Act of 1991. I support this Act because of the fact that the Languages are being lost. I am the third generation in my family that does not speak my native languages. If we are going to make this act work, we need funding for the Act. Congress has expressed its support for the native peoples to maintain their Languages. I feel there is much motivation among my peers to learn the languages but there is really no facilities for us to go to.

Sincerely,
Wayne Bazley
North Central Montana Upward Bound, N.M.C.
Havre, MT 59501

June 11e, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress
Washington D.C.

Your Honor:

I am very concerned about being funded to learn our Native language. You passed the Native American Languages Act of 1991, and yet there is no funding for it to go any further. What would our next logical step be? Please except my support. Thanks.

Yours truly,

Rhea Jay Miner
North Central Montana Upward Bound Prog.
NMC.
Havre, Montana
=59501=

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor;

Even though I'm not Native American, I fully support the Native American Languages Act of 1991. Yet, there needs to be more funding for it. Many of todays youth is going to be lost if they don't know their tribal languages.

The maintenance, restoration, and revitalization is very important.

Please accept this letter of support in support of the Native American Languages Act of 1991.

Sincerely,
Rachel Carpenter
North Central Mt. Upward Bound Prog.
N.M.C.
Havre, MT 59501

June 16, 92

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress.
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

I am writing to support of the Native American Languages Act of 1991. I feel that this will help the Native Americans, because there slowly losing there culture by not speaking there own language. There is no other act or program that is funded to do that. Native Americans will slowly gain back there religon and culture by learning to speak there first real language.

I think that we have the right to get funded to learn our own language since were the ones who are losing our culture. Not only are we losing our Culture and religon we are slowly losing our own people by not speaking our language. Thats the way our elders communicate with others and by speaking ~~Engl~~ English its wrong.

I fully support the Native American Act of 1991.

Sincerely,
Trisha Shields.

North Central Mt Upward Bound Prog.
N.M.C.
Havre, Mt. 59501.

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your most gracious Honor:

I am a young Native American youth and have learned of the passage of the "Native American Language Act of 1991" that received no funding. Being a resident on the reservation our heritage and culture are very important in our survival, but many don't really care if they both continue on if the people have to chip in their own sweat, toil, and money, particulary. People feel that way because many on the reservations live in poverty and don't have the money for it. This is where the funding comes in. The funding would definitely provide for the continuation of our culture and heritage. Then nobody would feel like they are paying out of their own pockets for a cause that is not on the right track. With the funding our

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ancestory may be remembered and
everybody else would feel a lot better.

A caring young native american,

Shane Beaumont

Upward Bound
NMC
Havre, MT 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Danial Inouye, et. al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honorable:

I am writing in concern for the Native American Languages Act of 1991, That Act was passed, but without funding. What good is that without funding? With funding we could pay for our Teachers to teach us the language and some of the cultureal and Traditional way of doing the things that are sacred to us; so that they won't be lost for ever. Some whites are even interested in learning our language, but without funding that could never happen. So please Accept my letter of support to help pass the bill for funding so that we could restore and maintain our heritage.

Sincerely yours,

Chad Wing
Upward Bound JMC
Havre, MT 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

I am writing to you in concern of the "Native American Languages Act of 1991". I support this program and the reason I am concerned is that this program lacks the proper funds to make it work. I am a Chou Ventre teenager living on the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation and I don't know a thing about the Chou Ventre people. I feel that I am losing touch with heritage that might be lost forever. This program will stop that and keep the American Indian way of life alive.

Sincerely,

Brian K. Thomas
North central Montana Upward Bound Program
M.S.C.
Havre, MT. 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

I am writing to express my thoughts on the Native American Act 1991.

I am Native American myself and appreciate the act passing, but what good is it if you pass an act and their is no funding involved? If funding was involved we could restore, not only our language, but also our culture. To restore and reunite our language is to give the new generation a chance at their heritage and religions. If people like myself are not tought the old ways our culture could be lost forever. We need our language in order to teach the younger generation, which is the future.

Please support the funding for the Native American Language Act 1991.

Sincerely,
Martha Champagne
North Central Upward Bound Prog.
N.M.C.
Havre Mt. -59501-

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

I'm writting this letter regarding the "Native American Languges Act of 1991."

the act is useful, but without the funding it is useless. With the funding we can revitalize and mantain our languages, customs, and hertitages. We also need facilities and other things that maybe needed for the learning.

Our languugges and customs are very important to us.

So please help our people save our languages, by supporting the "Native American Languages Act of 1991."

Thank you
Mindy Blunderson
North Central MT Upward Bound
NMC
Havre, MT 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor,

I am writing this letter of support for the Native American Languages Act of 1991. I believe that without our language we have no heritage. We have this Act, but we have no funding.

With this funding it will help teach high-school students like me, their language. It will also teach the younger generation, which is our future, the old ways and traditions of the Native American Indian.

We desperately need funding to reunite our language with our people.

Sincerely,
Paula Hawley
North Central MT Upward Bound Prog.
N.M.C.
Havre, MT. 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al.,
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

Being Native American and not knowing much about my culture is pretty sad. But if I were to know how to speak my language would be an honor. This is why I write to support you to help get funds. I am pretty sure alot of youth of Native American would be delighted to learn about their heritage.

Please make every effort to push this bill through congress.

Yours sincerely,
Raymond Red Elk

North Central MT Upward Bound
NMC
Havre, MT. 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et.al
United States Congress
Washington D.C.

Your Honor:

Please accept my letter of support for funding of the Native American Act of 1991. I feel the act is useless with out funding. However if passed the bill for funding would be a tremendous asset for our people. We can begin to restore and maintain our languages.

Your sincerely,

Francine Bacon

North Central Upward Bound Program
N. M. C
Havre, Mt. 59501

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et al.
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

Glad to have seen you passed "Native American Languages Act of 1991", but our people also need the funding to carry out the main purpose. If we lose our language we could lose our heritage. Without our heritage we would be empty and have no purpose. It means a lot to us as the Natives of today. You would help a lot if you gave funding to restore what we are losing. I am a Native American high school student with my goals set high and one of my goals is to learn as much as I can about my heritage. Maybe someday I can also teach my people's younger generations to come. So, please give the Native Americans for this good thing they want to do.

Sky Mattle
M.M.C. - Haure, MT.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Honorable Sen. Daniel Inouye, et al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

As a concerned Native American high school students, I feel obligated to write you this letter of support for the Native American Languages Act of 1991.

I believe you passed the NAL Act in 1991, but what is the use of this act without the funding to back it up? To maintain this act you need to teach and to teach you need teachers. Also, there would be supplies needed and a place to teach all the languages. However, all of this calls for funding.

I think this act is useful in some ways, but it would be a lot more useful if there was funding involved.

Very Truly Yours,
Rona King

June 15, 1992

Honorable Sen. Daniel Inouye, et al,
United States Congress
Washington D.C.

I'm writing this letter in intrest of the Indian Culture. Although I am not Indian, I think that preserving the Native American languages and traditions should be a very important concern of the Indians today. I fully support the "Native American Languages Act of 1991", but an "Act" alone cannot bring total awareness to our youth today. We need to teach and remind the American Indians today how important their culture is. We need more programs that support Indians and their customs. And thats when funding becomes a big issue. Funding is the only way we can keep the spirit alive. We just need more people to realize that if we don't start now with the young generation the Native American memory may be lost forever.

So again, I stress the importance of funding in support of the "Native American Languages Act of 1991"

a concearned student,
Natalia Chiechigou

June 15, 1992

Honorable Sen. Daniel Inouye, et al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your honor:

As a concerned Native American high school student. I feel obligated to write you this letter of support for the Native American Languages Act of 1991. I think the Native American Languages Act is something good for people that want to learn how to speak it. I also think they should be giving the N.A.L. Act, their own funding to have older people teach younger people. I also think Native American Language is more important than English and it should be a required class like English. I hope that soon the Native American Language Act gets funded soon!

signed
Rose Calvan

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June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor,

I am writing in concern of the Native American Act of 1991. Although it meant well, there must any funds to push the act forward. Without funding, the Act will be able to do what it was meant to do.

I am in support of the act because of the help it will be giving us in learning our language. In bringing back the Native American language, you are also giving back religion, tradition, and heritage that has been long lost. I support the Native American Act of 1991, but funding is needed in support of the Act. Please consider any letters of recognition for this bill that is being passed for funding.

Sincerely,

[redacted]
Fort Belknap HT Upward Bound Prog
MMC
[redacted] Havre, Mt. 59501

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June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, Et. Al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor

I am writing to inform you of my being an Indian student who doesn't know how to speak my Native tongue. To learn to speak my language I believe will need the funds to learn these because will need teachers and a place to learn these languages. I strongly support the idea of giving funds for the Native American Languages Act of 1991. So please accept my letter of support.

Your truely, Shana R. Chief Stick
South Central Mt. Upward Bound Rep
Northern Montana College
Havre, Montana
59501.

June 16, 1992

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et.al
United States Congress
Washington, D.C.

Your Honor:

As a Native American High School student, I feel the need to write this letter of support for funding of the Native American Language Act of 1991.

How can Language Maintenance, restoration and revitalization for Native People be achieved without funding? Therefore, I believe the bill for the Native American Languages Act of 1991 would be more useful to my people if funding is granted.

Sincerely Yours,

Hafe J Bacon
North Central MT Upward Bound
Program NMC
Havre, MT. 59501 212

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6-15-92

Honorable Senator Daniel Inouye, et. al
United States Congress
Washington DC.

Your Honor:

As a concerned High School student, I feel obligated to write you a letter of support for the "Native American Language Act of 1991" and say that I feel the Government should help fund, Native American efforts to keep the Native American language going. I feel people especially, Native Americans should be aware of their heritage.

Sincerely,
Brandi Taylor
Upward Bound, N.M.C.
Havre, MT 59501

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